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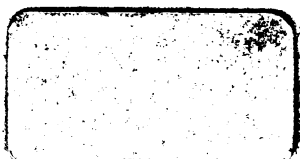
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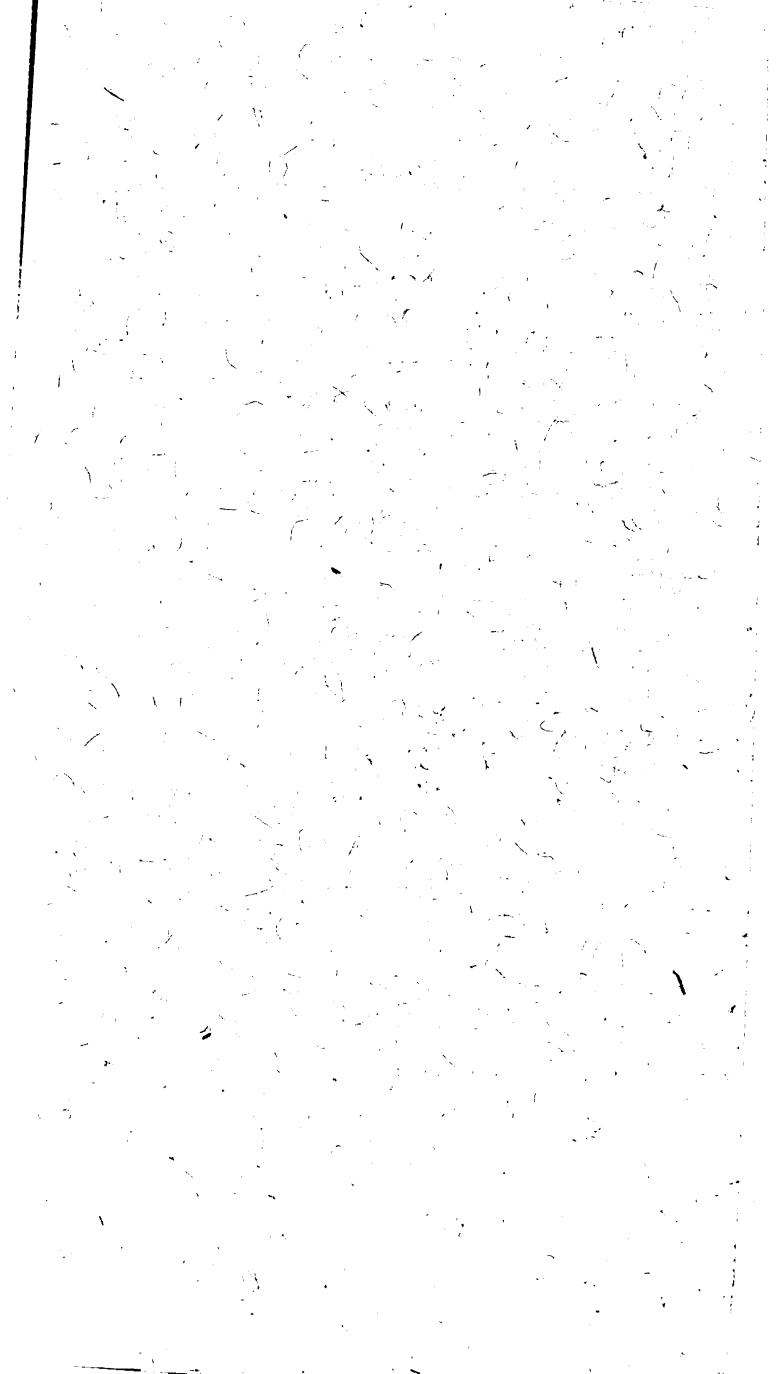
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DAE7









XII. Month. DECEMBER, 31 days. 1814.

In Thee my soul shall trust, that spark divine,
 The source of life, of action, of design,
 Defies the tyrant death, and mocks the tomb,
 Springs with new vigour, shines with fresher bloom,
 Eas'd of the clog of earth, it mounts above,
 A spirit wing'd, and ever shall improve
 In knowledge, virtue, happiness, and love. }

Last Quarter 3d day, 11h. 1m. morn. First Quarter 19th day, 7h. 25m. even
 New Moon 11th day, 1h. 56m. even. Full Moon 26th day, 6h. 20m. even

M.	W.	Courts, Aspects, Weather, &c.	r	s.	F. sea.	D s pl	r O
1	5	*s fou. 11h. ● per.	7	26	5	2	57 heart 9 26
2	6	Look for a storm	7	27	5	3	56 belly 10 30
3	7	Sirius rises 9h. of snow	7	27	5	4	52 11 38
4	B	Ld's day. ⊕ □ Bonaparte	7	28	5	5	44 reins morn
5	2	Low tide. [crowned 1804	7	28	5	6	32 48
6	3	♀ rises 7h. ♀ flat or rain	7	29	5	7	19 secrets 1 59
7	4	Newport taken 1776.	7	30	5	8	5 3 5
8	5	Conception Virgin Mary	7	31	5	8	47 thigh 4 8
9	6	Yd. L. fou. 12h 12m	7	31	5	9	34 5 9
10	7	♂ ♀ 15° Gov. Sull di 1808	7	32	5	10	20 6 8
11	B	Lord's day. [Greenfield	7	32	5	10	59 knees sets
12	2	C.P. Camb Taunt August &	7	32	5	11	56 5 22
13	3	Cold increases.	7	33	5	45	legs 6 7
14	4	WASHINGTON di 1799 aged	7	33	5	1	33 6 59
15	5	● apogee. [68	7	33	5	2	21 7 55
16	6	*s sou. 10h. Tea destroyed	7	33	5	3	7 feet 8 54
17	7	[in Boston 1772	7	34	5	3	52 9 57
18	B	Lord's day. Snow or rain	7	34	5	4	36 head 10
19	2	C.P. Ipswich & Dedham	7	34	5	5	19 11 57
20	3	with wind	7	34	5	6	4 neck morn.
21	4	St. Thomas	7	34	5	6	48 1 3
22	5	● ent 13	7	34	5	7	35 arms 2 8
23	6	Winter solstice.	7	34	5	8	24 3 13
24	7		7	34	5	9	20 4 15
25	B	Ld's day. BIRTH OF CHRIST.	7	34	5	10	21 breast 5 22
26	2	C.P. Lenox St. Stephen	7	34	5	11	23 rises
27	3	C.P. Bos. St John. [Oeclip	7	34	5	morn.	heart 5 47
28	4	● perigee. Cold	7	33	5	27	6 54
29	5	with snow	7	33	5	1	30 7 58
30	6	♂ ♀ 14°	7	33	5	2	28 belly 9 3
31	7	Gen. Montgomery slain 1775	7	33	5	3	24 10 10

TABLE OF STAGES FROM BOSTON.

<i>Stages.</i>	<i>Set off from.</i>	<i>Day of the week.</i>	
Albany	Boyden's, (Dock square)	Tues. Thurs. Sat.	3 a m
Amherst	Davenport's (Elm street)	do.	5 a m
Burlington	do.	do.	
Cambridge	Old state house	Twice every day	12 & 6
Canton	Boyden's	Tues. Thurs. Sat.	3 p m
Dedham	Clark's (Brattle square)	Every day	4 p m
Dorchester	Patterson's (Elm street)	Every day	4 p m
Gloucester	Smith & Patten's do.	Every day	11 a m
Eastern Mail	Hale's (Ann street)	Every day	10 a m
Groton, Keene, & Walpole	Trask's (Bromfield's lane.)	Mond. Wedn. Friday	3 a m
Hartford	Trask's	Mond. Wedn. Fri.	4 a m
Hanover, N. H.	Davenport's	Mond. Wedn. Friday	5 a m
Haverhill	Hale's Ann street	Tuesd. Thursd. Friday	10 a m
Leominster	Trask's	Wednesday Saturday	5 a m
Marblehead	Boyden's	Every day	4 p m
Medford	Patterson's	Every day	noon
Milton	do.	Every day	4 p m
Needham	Boyden's	Mon. Wed. Thurs Sat.	4 p m
Newburyport	Hale's	Every day, Sund. exc.	noon
New-York	Boyden	Tues. Thurs. Sat.	10 a m
Do. slow mail	do.	Mond. Wedn. Friday	9 a m
Newport	Trask's	Every day, Sund. exc.	5 a m
New-Bedford	do.	Mond. Wedn. Frid.	5 a m
Plymouth	Boyden's	Tues. Thurs. Sat.	5 a m
Portsmouth	Hale's	Every day	noon
Portland	do.	Every day	10 a m
Providence acc.	Trask's	Every day	6 a m
Do. mail	Clark's	Every day, Sund. exc.	10 a m
Quincy	Boyden's	Mon. Tue. Thur. Sat.	4 p m
Roxbury	Old state house	Twice every day	12 & 6
Salem, morning	Boyden's	Every day, Sund. exc.	9 a m
Do. evening	Clark's inn	do.	3 p m
Do. Burrill's	Boyden's	do.	3 p m
Sandwich	do.	Tues. Thurs. Satur.	5 a m
Sterling	Trask's	Every Tuesday	6 a m
Stoughton	Boyden's	Mond. Thurs. Satur.	3 p m
Taunton	Trask's	Tues. Thurs. Satur.	5 a m
Watertown	Patterson's	Every day, Sund. exc.	5 p m
Winchenden	Boyden's	Wednesday, Saturday	7 a m
Walpole	Trask's	Mond. Wedn. Frid.	3 a m

RATE OF POSTAGE OF EVERY SINGLE LETTER BY LAND.

MILES.	CENTS.	MILES.	CENTS.
40	8	300	17
90	10	500	20
150	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	For more than 500	25

No allowance is to be made for intermediate miles. Every double letter is to pay double the said rates; every triple letter, triple; every packet weighing one ounce, at the rate of four single letters for each ounce.—Every ship letter originally received at an office for delivery, 6 cents. Magazines and Pamphlets, not over 50 miles, 1 cent per sheet.—Over 50 miles, and not exceeding 100 do. 11-2 cents.—Over 100 do. 2 cents

BAE

MONEY TABLES.

For reducing Shillings and Pence into Cents and Mills.

			Shill.	Shill.	Shill.	Shill.	Shill.
			0	1	2	3	4
Pence.	Cts.	m.	Cts. m.	Cts. m.	Cts. m.	Cts. m.	Cts. m.
0			16 7	33 3	50 0	66 7	83 3
1	1	4	18 1	34 7	51 4	68 1	84 7
2	2	8	19 5	36 1	52 8	69 5	86 1
3	4	2	20 9	37 5	54 2	70 9	87 5
4	5	6	22 3	38 9	55 6	72 3	88 9
5	7	0	23 7	40 3	57 0	73 7	90 3
6	8	3	25 0	41 6	58 3	75 0	91 6
7	9	7	26 4	43 0	59 7	76 4	93 0
8	11	1	27 8	44 4	61 1	77 8	94 4
9	12	5	29 2	45 8	62 5	79 2	95 3
10	13	9	30 6	47 2	63 9	80 6	97 2
11	15	3	32 0	48 6	65 3	82 0	98 6

EXAMPLE.—Reduce 3s. 6d. to Cents and Mills. Look for 3s. at the head of the column, and 6 under pence at the left hand side; then cast your eye along in that line till you come to the 3s. column, you have 58 Cents 3 Mills, the answer.

A TABLE in which the gold coins of Great-Britain and Portugal are reduced to an equivalent value in dollars and cents.

A TABLE, in which the gold coins of France and Spain are reduced to equivalent value in dollars and cents.

gr.	ct.	g.	c.	pwt	d.	ct.	pwt	dol.	ct.
1	3	13	48	1	0,89	11	9	78	
2	7	14	51	2	1,78	12	10	67	
3	11	15	55	3	2,67	13	11	55	
4	14	16	59	4	3,55	14	12	44	
5	18	17	63	5	4,44	15	13	33	
6	22	18	67	6	5,33	16	14	22	
7	25	19	70	7	6,22	17	15	11	
8	29	20	74	8	7,11	18	16	00	
9	33	21	78	9	8,00	19	16	89	
10	37	22	81	10	8,89	20	17	78	
11	40	23	85						
12	44								

gr.	ct.	gr.	ct.	pwt	d.	ct.	pwt	dol.	ct.
1	3	13	47	1	0,87	11	9	63	
2	7	14	51	2	1,75	12	10	51	
3	11	15	55	3	2,63	13	11	39	
4	14	16	58	4	3,50	14	12	26	
5	18	17	62	5	4,38	15	13	14	
6	22	18	66	6	5,25	16	14	01	
7	25	19	69	7	6,13	17	14	89	
8	29	20	73	8	7,01	18	15	76	
9	33	21	76	9	7,88	19	16	64	
10	36	22	80	10	8,76	20	17	52	
11	40	23	84						
12	44								

AMERICAN STANDARD OF MONEY.

Approved by aB of Congress, April 10, 1806.

		pwt.	gr.
GOLD.	Eagle, valued at Ten Dollars, must weigh	11	06
	Half Eagle, at Five Dollars,	5	15
	Quarter Eagle, at Two Dollars and Fifty Cents,	2	19 1/2
	Dollar must weigh	17	07
SILVER.	Half Dollar	8	16
	Quart 2 Dollar	4	04
	French Crown, at One Dollar and Ten Cents	18	17

THE
ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES & PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

BY CHARLES ROLLIN,
LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, &c.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

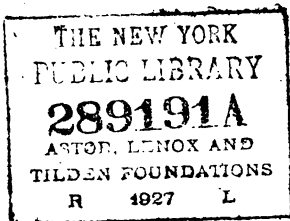
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THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS,

CONTINUED.

PLAN.

THE twentieth book is divided into three articles, which are all abridgements; the first, of the history of the Jews from the reign of Aristobulus to that of Herod the Great; the second, of the history of the Parthians from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus; the third of the history of the kings of Cappadocia to the annexing of the kingdom to the Roman empire.

SECTION VI.

REIGN OF ANTIOCHUS, OF ONLY TWO YEARS DURATION.

IT was not so easy for Herod to establish himself in the possession of the kingdom of Judea* as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans. Antigonus was not at all inclined to resign a throne which had cost him so much pains and money to acquire. He disputed it with him very vigorously for almost two years.

Herod†, who during the winter had made great preparations for the following campaign, opened it at length with the siege of Jerusalem, which he invested at the head of a fine and numerous army. Antony had given orders to Sosius, governor of Syria, to use his utmost endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

Whilst the works necessary to the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length consummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted four years to each other; but the unforeseen troubles into which he fell,

* A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.

† A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Id. de Bell. Jud. l. 1. 12.

had prevented their consummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of Alexander, the son of king Aristobulus, and Alexandria, the daughter of Hyrcanus the second, and thereby grand-daughter to those two brothers. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and possessed in an eminent degree of all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The attachment of the Jews to the Asmonean family made Herod imagine, that by espousing her, he should find no difficulty in gaining their affections, which was one of his reasons for consummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he having joined their forces, pressed the siege in concert with the utmost vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at least 60,000 men. The place, however, held out against them many months with exceeding resolution; and if the besieged had been as expert in the art of war and the defence of places as they were brave and resolute, it would not perhaps have been taken; but the Romans, who were much better skilled in those things than them, carried the place at length, after a siege of something more than six months.

* The Jews being driven from their posts, the enemy entered on all sides, and made themselves masters of the city; and to revenge the obstinate resistance they had made, and the pains they had suffered during so long and difficult a siege, they filled all quarters of Jerusalem with blood and slaughter, plundered and destroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmost to prevent both the one and the other.

Antigonus seeing all lost came and threw himself at the feet of Sosius, in the most submissive and most abject manner. He was put in chains, and sent to Antony, as soon as he arrived at Antioch. He designed at first to have reserved him for his triumph; but Herod, who did not think himself safe as long as that branch of the royal family survived, would not let him rest till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large sum of money †. He was proceeded against in form, condemned to die, and had the sentence executed upon him in the same manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was fastened to a stake: a treatment with which the Romans had never used any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Asmonæans, after a duration of 129 years, from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabæus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

This singular, extraordinary, and till then unexampled event, by which the sovereign authority over the Jews was given to a

* A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

† Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27.

stranger, an Idumæan, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to a celebrated prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms; had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was interested, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and distinguished them by a peculiar characteristic from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal interest in it, but without knowing or being apprized of it. This was the prophecy of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve sons, assembled round his bed, what would happen in the series of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and after whom they were called. Amongst the other predictions of that patriarch concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now speak: "The * sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." The sceptre or rod (for the Hebrew signifies both) implies here the authority and superiority over the other tribes.

All the ancient Jews have explained this prediction to denote the Messiah, the fact is therefore incontestable, and is reduced to two essential points. The first is, that as long as the tribe of Judah shall subsist, it shall have pre-eminence and authority over the other tribes, the second, that it shall submit, and form a body of a republic, governed by its laws and magistrates, till the Messiah comes.

The first point is verified in the series of the history of the Israelites, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proofs of this kind; those who would be more fully informed may consult the explanation of Genesis lately published †.

For the second point, we have only to consider it with the least attention. When Herod the Idumæan, and in consequence a stranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and superiority which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes were first taken from it. The tribe of Judah had no longer the supremacy; it was no longer a body subsisting, from which the magistrates were taken. It was manifest, therefore, that the Messiah was come. But at what time did that tribe become like the rest, and was confounded with them? In the times of Titus Vespasian, and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remains of Judah. It was therefore before those times the Messiah came.

How wonderful does God appear in the accomplishment of his prophecies? Would it be making a right use of history not to dwell a few moments upon facts like these, when we meet

* Gen. xlix. 10.

† By F. Babuty, rue St. Jacques.

them in the course of our matter? Herod reduced to quit Jerusalem, takes refuge at Rome. He had no thoughts of demanding the sovereignty for himself; but for another. It was the grossest injustice to give it to a stranger whilst there were princes of the royal family in being: but it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod should be king of the Jews.—Heaven and earth shall sooner pass away than that decree of God not be fulfilled. Antony was at Rome, and in possession of sovereign power, when Herod arrives there. How many events were necessary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing difficult to the Almighty?

ARTICLE II.

ABRIDGEMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE PARTHIANS.

THE Parthian empire was one of the most powerful and most considerable that ever was in the east. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itself by little and little over all Asia Major, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be 474 years, of which 254 were before Jesus Christ, and 220 after him. Arsaces was the founder of that empire, from whom all his successors were called Arsacides. Artaxerxes, by birth a Persian, having overcome and slain Artabanus, the last of those kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Persians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the son of Mammæus. I shall only speak here of the affairs of the Parthians before Jesus Christ, and shall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Crassus, which I shall relate in all its extent.

I have observed elsewhere what gave * Arsaces, I. occasion to make Parthia revolt, and to expel the Macedonians, who had been in possession of it, from the death of Alexander the Great, and in what manner he had caused himself to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the same time made Bactria revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, surnamed Theos.

Some time after, Seleucus Callinicus†, who succeeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to subdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himself, and was made prisoner: that happened in the reign of Tiridates, called otherwise Arsaces II. brother of the first.

Antiochus, surnamed the Great†, was more successful than his predecessor. He marched into the east, and repossessed himself of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him. He

* A. M. 3750. Ant. J. C. 254.

† A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236. † A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212.

also entered Parthia, and obliged the † king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned soon after with an army of 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horse. As the war was of a tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arsaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist him in reconquering the revolted provinces. § Antiochus marched afterwards against Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was also obliged to come to an accommodation.

Priapatus the son of Arsaces II. succeeded his father, and after having reigned 15 years, left the crown at his death to Phraates I. his eldest son.

|| Phraates left it to Mithridates, whom he preferred before his own issue, upon account of his extraordinary merit, and who was in effect one of the greatest kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther than Alexander the Great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator prisoner.

** Phraates II. succeeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched against him at the head of a powerful army, under pretext of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had been long kept in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himself overthrown and killed in the last, and his army entirely cut to pieces. Phraates, in his turn, at the time he had formed the design of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and lost his life in a battle.

† Artabanus, his uncle, reigned in his stead, and died soon after.

His successor was Mithridates II. of whom Justin says †† that his great actions acquired him the surname of Great.

He declared war against the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace which he made with them, he obliged their king to send him his son Tigranes as an hostage. †† The latter was afterwards set upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themselves, and joined with Mithridates, king of Pontus, in the war against the Romans.

§§ Antiochus Eusebes took refuge with Mithridates, who re-established him in the possession of part of the kingdom of Syria two years after.

||| It was the same Mithridates, as we shall see hereafter, who sent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who caused him to be put to death on his return, for having given place to Sylla.

† The Abbe Longueue, in his Latin dissertation upon the Arsacides, ascribes what is here said to Artabanus, whom he places between Arsaces II. and Priapatus. Justin says nothing of them.

§ A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206. || A. M. 3840. Ant. J. 164.

** A. M. 3872. Ant. J. C. 131. † A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

†† Justin. p. 115. ‡ A. M. 3909. Justin. l. xviii. c. 3.

§§ A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92. || A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.

Demetrius Eucerus**, who reigned at Damascus, besieging Philip his brother in the city of Bærea, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops sent to the aid of Philip, and carried prisoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all the honours possible. He died there of disease.

Mithridates II. died††, after having reigned 40 years, generally regretted by his subjects. The domestic troubles with which his death was followed, considerably weakened the Parthian empire, and made his loss still more sensible. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces he had given up to the Parthians, and took several others from them. He passed the Euphrates, and made himself master of Syria and Phœnicia.

During these troubles, the Parthians elected Mnaskires, and after him Sinatrocces, kings, of whom almost nothing more is known than their names.

‡‡ Phraates, the son of the latter, was he who caused himself to be surnamed the God.

He sent ambassadors to Lucullus, after the great victory the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the same time secret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote him the letter which Sallust has preserved.

* Pompey having been appointed, in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war against Mithridates, engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger against his father, and breaks with Pompey.

† After Pompey's return to Rome, Phraates is killed by his own children. Mithridates his eldest son takes his place.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, dies almost at the same time. Artavasdes his son succeeds him.

Mithridates‡, expelled his kingdom, either by his own subjects, to whom he had rendered himself odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinius who commanded in Syria, to re-establish him upon the throne, but without effect. He takes up arms in his own defence. Besieged in Babylon §, and warmly pressed, he surrenders to Orodes who, considering him only as an enemy, and not a brother, causes him to be put to death, by which means Orodes becomes peaceable possessor of the throne.

But he found enough to employ him abroad ||, that he had

** A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 22.

†† A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Strab. l. xi. p. 332. Plut. in Lucul. p. 500, &c.

‡‡ A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

* A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.

† A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.

‡ Justin. l. xlii. c. 4.

§ A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55.

|| A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54. Plut. in Crass. p. 552, 554.

no reason to expect. Crassus had lately been created consul at Rome, with Pompey, for the second time. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Crassus, who was exceedingly rejoiced upon that account, because it favoured the design he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia. When he was in company even with people he scarce knew, he could not moderate his transports. Amongst his friends, with whom he was under less restraint, he ran even into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and seemed to forget himself in a strange manner. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conquest of some neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia ; he flattered himself with doing such things, as should make the great exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and those of Pompey against Mithridates, appear like the feats of infants in comparison with his. He had already over-ran in thought Bactria and the Indies, and penetrated as far as the remotest seas, and the extremities of the east. However, in the instructions and powers which were given him, Parthia was in no manner included : but all the world knew his design against it was his darling passion. Such a beginning forbodes no success.

His departure had besides something more inauspicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppose his going, and was joined by many people, who could not suffer him to set out with gaiety of heart, to carry a war against a people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their friends and allies. That tribune in consequence, having in vain opposed the departure of Crassus, made haste to the gate of the city through which he was to pass, and set a cauldron full of fire before him. When Crassus came to the place, he threw perfumes and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them the most terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all present tremble with horror, and of which the misfortunes of Crassus have been regarded by many writers as the accomplishment.

Nothing could stop him. Superior to all opposition, he continued his march, arrived at Brundisium, and though the sea was very tempestuous, embarked, and lost abundance of ships in his passage. When he arrived in Galatia, he had an interview with king Dajotarus, who, though of a very advanced age, was at that time employed in building a new city, upon which Crassus rallied him to this effect : " King of the Galatians, you begin full late to build a city at the twelfth hour of the day *." " And you, lord Crassus," replied Dejo-

* The twelfth hour was the end of the day:

tarus, "are not too early in setting out to make war against the Parthians," For Crassus was at that time upwards of 60 years old, and his countenance made him look still older than he was.

He had been informed, † that there were considerable treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it worth his trouble to go a little out of his way to make himself master of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Besides the other riches, which amounted to very considerable sums, in it there was a beam of gold, inclosed and concealed in another of wood made hollow for that use : this was known only by Eleazar the priest, who kept the treasures of the sanctuary. This beam of gold weighed 300 minæ, each of which weighed two pounds and an half. Eleazar, who was apprised of the motive of Crassus's march to Jerusalem, to save the other riches, which were almost all of them deposited in the temple by private persons, discovered the golden beam to Crassus, and suffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the rest. Was he so ignorant as to imagine any thing sacred with avarice ? Crassus took the beam of gold, and notwithstanding made the rest of the treasures his plunder, which amounted to about 1,500,000*l.* sterling. He then continued his route.

Every thing succeeded at first as happy as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any opposition, passed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war than the insatiable desire of enriching himself by the plunder of a country which was supposed to be extremely opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace, and several treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction or enterprise to give a just pretext for a war ; so that the Parthians expected nothing less than such an invasion ; and, not being upon their guard, had made no preparations for their defence. Crassus in consequence was master of the field, and over-ran without opposition the greatest part of Mesopotamia. He took also several cities with no resistance ; and had he known how to take advantage of the occasion, it had been easy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to have seized them, and made himself master of all Babylonia, as he had done of Mesopotamia. But instead of pursuing his point in the beginning of autumn, after having left 7000 foot and 1000 horse to secure the cities which had surrendered to him, he repassed the Euphrates, and put his troops into winter-quarters in the cities of Syria, where his sole employment was to amass money, and to plunder temples.

† Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

He was joined there by his son, whom Cæsar sent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with several of the military crowns given by the general to such as distinguished themselves by their valour. He brought with him 1000 chosen horse.

Of all the faults committed by Crassus in this expedition, which were very considerable, the greatest undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his hasty return into Syria : for he ought to have gone on without staying, and to have seized Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, instead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cause of his ruin.

Whilst he was re-assembling all his troops from their winter-quarters, ambassadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commissions in few words. They told him, that if that army was sent by the Romans against the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a conclusion by the final ruin of the one or the other empire : that if, as they had been informed, it was only Crassus, who, against the opinion of his country, and to satiate his private avarice, had taken arms against them, and entered one of their provinces, the king their master was well disposed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity of the age of Crassus, and to suffer the Romans in his dominions, rather shut up than keeping possession of cities, to depart with their lives and rings safe. They spoke, no doubt, of the garrisons left by Crassus in the conquered places. Crassus answered this discourse only with a rhodomontade. He told them, "they should have his answer in the city of Seleucia."—Upon which the most ancient of the ambassadors, named Vahises, made an answer, laughing, and showing him the palm of his hand : "Crassus, you will sooner see hair grow in the palm of my hand than Seleucia." The ambassadors retired, and went to give their king notice that he must prepare for war.

As soon as the season would permit * Crassus took the field. The Parthians had time, during the winter, to assemble a very great army, to make head against him. Orodes their king divided his troops, and marched in person with one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia : he sent the other into Mesopotamia, under the command of Surena. That general, upon his arrival there, retook several of the places Crassus had made himself master of the year before.

About the same time, some Roman soldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had escaped out of the cities of Mesopotamia, where they had been in garrison, of which the Parthians had

* A. M. 3951. Ant. J. C. 53. Plut. in Crass. p. 554.

already retaken some, and were besieging the rest, came to Crassus, and related things to him highly capable of disquieting and alarming him. They told him that they had seen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had also been witnesses of their terrible valour in the bloody attacks of the cities they besieged. They added, that they were troops not to be escaped when they pursued, nor overtaken when they fled ; that their arrows, of a weight, and at the same time of an astonishing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, against which it was impossible to defend.

This discourse infinitely abated the courage and boldness of the Roman soldiers, who imagined that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians that Lucullus had so easily overthrown, and flattered themselves that the whole difficulty of the war would consist in the length of the way, and the pursuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now saw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to experience great battles and great dangers. This discouragement rose so high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion that it was necessary for Crassus, before he advanced farther, to assemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprise. But Crassus listened to no other advice, but of those who pressed him to begin his march and to make all possible expedition.

What encouraged him the most, and confirmed him in that resolution, was the arrival of Artabazus, king of Armenia. He brought with him a body of 6000 horse, which were part of his guards ; adding, that besides these, he had 10,000 cuirassiers, and 30,000 foot at his service. But he advised him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Mesopotamia, and told him that he must enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia. The reasons with which he supported this advice were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian horse, in which the greatest strength of their army consisted, would be rendered entirely useless to them ; that if they took this route, he should be in a condition to supply the army with all necessaries ; instead of which, if he marched by the way of Mesopotamia, convoys would be deficient and he would have a powerful army in his front, on all the marches it would be necessary for him to take, before he could penetrate to the centre of the enemy's dominions ; that in those plains, the horse would have all possible advantages against him ; and, lastly, that he must cross several sandy deserts, where the troops might be in great distress for want of water and provisions. The counsel was excellent, and the reasons unanswerable : but Crassus, blinded by providence, which intended to punish the sacrilege he had committed in plundering the tem-

ple of Jerusalem, despised all that was said to him. He only desired Artabasus, who returned into his dominions, to bring him his troops as soon as possible.

I have said, that providence blinded Crassus, which is self-evident in a great measure. But a pagan writer makes the same remark upon it; this is Dion Cassius, a very judicious historian, and at the same time a warrior. He says, that "the Romans under Crassus had no salutary view, and were either ignorant upon all occasions of what was necessary to be done, or in no condition to execute it; so that one would have thought, that condemned and pursued by some divinity, they could neither make use of their bodies nor minds." That divinity was unknown to Dion, it was he whom the Jewish nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Crassus made haste therefore to set forward. He had seven legions of foot, near 4000 horse, and as many light-armed soldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than 40,000 men, that is to say, one of the finest armies the Romans ever set on foot. When his troops passed the bridge, he had laid over the river Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning drove in the faces of the soldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the same time a black cloud, out of which burst an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder-claps and lightning, fell upon the bridge, and broke down a part of it. The troops were seized with fear and sadness. He endeavoured to re-animate them in the best manner he was able, promising them with an oath, that they should march back by the way of Armenia, and concluding his discourse with assuring them that not one of them should return that way. These last words, which were ambiguous, and had escaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greatest trouble and dismay. Crassus well knew the bad effect they had produced; but out of a spirit of obstinacy and haughtiness, he neglected to remedy it by explaining the sense of those words to re-assure the timorous.

He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His scouts, whom he had sent out for intelligence, returned, and reported, that there was not a single man to be seen in the country, but that they had found the marks of abundance of horse, which seemed to have fled suddenly, as if they had been pursued.

Upon this advice, Crassus confirmed himself in his hopes, and his soldiers began to despise the Parthians, as men that would never have courage to stand a charge, and come to blows with them. Cassius advised him at least to approach some town, where they had a garrison, in order to rest the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemy, their force, and what designs they had in view; or if Crassus did not approve that counsel, to march along the Euphrates towards

Seleucia ; because, by always keeping upon the coast of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthians to surround him ; and that, with the fleet which might follow him, provisions might be always brought from Syria, and all other things of which the army might stand in need. This Cassius was Crassus's questor, and the same who afterwards killed Cæsar.

Crassus, after having considered this advice, was upon the point of coming into it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the address to make him approve a quite different plan. This Arab had formerly served under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman soldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Surena found him entirely qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was conducted to Crassus, he informed him, that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face ; that its name alone had already spread an universal terror among their troops ; and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered to be their guide himself, and to carry them the shortest way. Crassus, blinded by this flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a specious turn to what he proposed, gave entirely into the snare, notwithstanding the pressing instances of Cassius, and some others, who suspected that impostor's design.

Crassus would hearken to nobody. The traitor Ariamnes, after having persuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him across the plain by a way at first level and easy, but which at length became difficult, from the deep sands, on which the army found itself engaged in the midst of a vast country, all bare, and of a frightful dryness, where the eye could discover neither end nor boundary, nor the troops hope to find rest and refreshment. If thirst, and the fatigue of the way, discouraged the Romans, the prospect of the country alone threw them into a despair still more terrible : for they could perceive neither near them, nor at a distance, the least tree, plant, or brook ; not so much as an hill, or a single blade of grass ; nothing was to be seen all round but heaps of burning sand.

This gave just reason to suspect some treachery, of which the arrival of couriers from Artabasus ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Crassus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a great army ; that the war he had to support, prevented him from sending the aid he had promised ; but that he advised him to approach Armenia, in order to their uniting their forces against the common enemy : that, if he would not follow that advice he cautioned him at least to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and such

places as were commodious for the horse, and to keep always close to the mountains. Crassus, instead of giving ear to these wise councils, flew out against those that gave them; and without vouchsafing to write an answer to Artabazus, he only told his couriers, "I have not time at present to consider the affairs of Armenia: I shall go thither soon, and shall then punish Artabazus for his treachery."

Crassus was so full of this Arab, and so blinded by his artful suggestions, that he had continued to follow him without the least distrust, notwithstanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him a great way into the sandy desert we have mentioned. The traitor then made his escape, and gave Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of some days in a desert of the enemy's country, where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the scouts came in full speed to inform Crassus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians advanced with great order and boldness to attack him immediately. That news threw the whole camp into great trouble and consternation. Crassus was more affected with it than the rest. He made all possible haste to draw up his army in battle. At first, following the advice of Cassius he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to surround him; he posted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and, drawing up his foot in close order, he made them form a large hollow square, facing on all sides, of which each flank had 15^a cohorts in front. Every cohort had a company of horse near it, in order that each part, being equally sustained by the cavalry, the whole body might charge with greater security and boldness. He gave one of the wings to Cassius; the other to his young son Crassus; and posted himself in the centre.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook which had not much water, but was however exceedingly grateful to the soldiers, from the exceeding drought and excessive heat.

Most of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to rest there during the night; that in the mean time, all possible endeavours should be used to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and disposition were known, they might attack them the next day. But Crassus, suffering himself to be carried away by the ardour of his son, and of the horse under his command, who pressed him to lead

^a The Roman cohort was a body of infantry consisting of 5 or 600 men, and differed very little from what is now called a battalion.

Of a great number of officers sent successively by his son to inform him of the danger he was in, the greatest part had fallen into the hands of the barbarians, who had put them to the sword. Only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, got to his presence, and declared to him that his son was lost, if he did not send him directly a powerful reinforcement.— Upon this news, Crassus was struck with such a diversity of afflicting thoughts, and his reason thereby so much disturbed, that he was no longer capable of seeing or hearing any thing. However, the desire of saving his son and the army, determined him to go to his aid; and he ordered the troops to march.

The Parthians, who returned from the defeat of young Crassus, arrived that moment with great cries and songs of victory, which from far apprised the unfortunate father of his misfortune. The barbarians, carrying the head of young Crassus upon the end of a spear, approached the Romans, and insulting them with the most scornful bravadoes, they asked them of what family and relations that young Roman was: “for,” said they, “it is impossible that a young man of such extraordinary valour and bravery should be the son of so base and cowardly a father as Crassus.”

This sight exceedingly dispirited the Romans; and instead of exciting the height of anger, and the desire of revenge in them, froze them with terror and dismay. Crassus, however, showed more constancy and courage on his disgrace, than he had done before; and running through the ranks, he cried out, “Romans, this mourning regards only me. The fortune and glory of Rome are still invulnerable and invincible, whilst you continue firm and intrepid. If you have any compassion for a father who has just now lost a son whose valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and resentment against the barbarians. Deprive them of their insolent joy, punish their cruelty, and do not suffer yourselves to be cast down by my misfortune. There is a necessity for experiencing some loss, when we aspire at great achievements. Lucullus did not defeat Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, without costing them some blood. It is after the greatest defeats that Rome has acquired the greatest victories. It is not by the favour of fortune she has attained to so high a degree of power, but by her patience and fortitude in supporting herself with vigour against adversity.”

Crassus endeavoured by remonstrances of this kind to re-animate his troops: but when he had given them orders to raise the cry of battle, he perceived the general discouragement of his army, even in that cry itself, which was faint, unequal, and timorous; whereas that of the enemy was bold, full, and strenuous.

The charge being given in consequence, the light horse of

the Parthians dispersed themselves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, distressed them extremely with their arrows; whilst the heavy cavalry attacked them in front, and obliged them to close up in one great body, except those who to avoid the arrows of which the wounds occasioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themselves upon the horse, like men in despair. Though they did not do them much hurt, their audacity was attended with this advantage; it occasioned their dying immediately, by the large and deep wounds they received: for the barbarians thrust their lances through their bodies with such force and vigour, that they often killed two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, upon night's coming on, the barbarians retired, saying, they would grant Crassus only that night to lament for his son, unless he should find it more expedient to consult his own safety, and prefer going voluntarily to being dragged to their king Arsaces. They then encamped in the presence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation, that the next day they should meet with little or no difficulty in completing its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dressing their wounded, of whom the greatest part died in the most horrible torments. Every man was solely intent upon his particular distress; for they all saw plainly, that they could not escape, whether they waited for day in the camp, or ventured, during the night, to throw themselves into that immense plain, of which they saw no end. Besides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For to carry them off would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would discover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Though they were perfectly sensible, that Crassus alone was the cause of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in desiring to see his face, and to hear his voice. But for him, lying upon the ground, in an obscure corner, with his head covered in his cloke, he was to the vulgar, says Plutarch, a great example of the instability of fortune; to wise and considerate persons, a still greater of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to such a degree, that he could not bear to be less at Rome than the first of so many millions of men, and thought himself low and mean, because there were two above him, Cæsar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius approached him, and endeavoured to make him rise, and to console and encourage him. But seeing him entirely depressed by the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all consolation and remonstrance,

they assembled the principal officers, and held a council of war directly ; and it being their unanimous opinion that it was necessary to retire immediately, they decamped without sound of trumpet. This was done at first with great silence. But soon after, the sick and wounded who could not follow, perceiving themselves abandoned, filled the camp with tumult and confusion, cries, shrieks, and horrible lamentations ; so that the troops who marched foremost were seized with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up in battle, or busying themselves in setting the wounded who followed them upon the beasts of carriage, and in dismounting such as were less sick, they lost abundance of time. There were only 300 horse, under the command of Ignatius, who did not stop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the centigels upon the walls ; and when they answered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians ; and without saying any more, or letting them know who he was, he pushed on with all possible expedition to the bridge Crassus had laid over the Euphrates, and saved his troops by that means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the message he had sent to Coponius by those guards was of great service to Crassus ; for that governor wisely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that it implied some disaster, gave orders immediately for the garrison to stand to their arms. And when he was informed of the way Crassus had taken, he marched out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, though well informed of his flight, would not pursue him in the dark, but the next day early entered the camp, and put all the wounded who had been left there, to the number of 4000, to the sword ; and their cavalry being dispersed over the plain after those who fled, took abundance of them, whom they found straggling on all sides.

One of Crassus's lieutenants, named Vargunteius, having separated in the night from the gross of the army with four cohorts, missed his way, and was found the next morning upon a small eminence by the barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himself with great valour, but was at length overpowered by multitudes, and all his soldiers killed, except 20, who, with sword in hand, fell on the enemy in despair, in order to open themselves a passage through them. The barbarians were so much astonished at their bravery, that, out of admiration of it, they opened, and gave them a passage. They arrived safe at Carræ.

At the same time Surena received false advice, that Crassus

had escaped with the best of his troops, and that those who had retired to Carræ, were only a militia, that were not worth the trouble of pursuing. Surena believing the reward of his victory lost, but still uncertain whether it were or not, desired to be better informed, in order to his resolving either to besiege Carræ, if Crassus was there, or to pursue him if he had quitted it. He therefore dispatched one of his interpreters, who spoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to desire to speak with Crassus himself, or Cassius, and to say, that Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Crassus accepted the proposal with joy. Soon after, some Arabian soldiers came from the barbarians who knew Crassus and Cassius by sight, from having seen them in the camp before the battle. Those soldiers approached the place, and seeing Cassius upon the walls, they told him, that Surena was inclined to treat with them, and permit them to retire, upon condition that they would continue in amity with the king his master, and abandon Mesopotamia to him : that this was more advantageous for both parties than to proceed to the last extremities.

Cassius came into this, and demanded that the time and place for an interview should immediately be fixed. The Arabians assured him that they would go and do their utmost to that effect, and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place from whence it could not escape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at first with extreme haughtiness, and declared, that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they must previously deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound hand and foot into their hands. The Romans, enraged at such exceeding deceit, told Crassus, that it was necessary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without losing a moment's time. It was highly important, that not one of the inhabitants of Carræ should know his design till the instant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it first, and by Crassus himself, who confided it to him, and chose him for his guide, relying very injudiciously upon his fidelity.

The Parthians, in consequence, were not long before they were fully apprized of the whole plan, by the means of that traitor. But as it was not their custom to engage in the night, the impostor, to prevent Crassus from getting so much ground as might make it impossible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans sometimes by one way, sometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marshy grounds, and places abounding with great ditches, where it was very difficult

to march, and necessary to make a great many turnings and windings, to extricate themselves out of that labyrinth.

There were some, who, suspecting that it was with no good design Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refused at last to follow him; and Cassius himself returned towards Carræ. By hasty marches he escaped into Syria with 500 horse. Most of the rest, who had trusty guides, gained the pass of the mountains called Sinnachi, and were in a place of safety before the break of day. The latter might be about 5000 men, under the command of Octavius.

As for Crassus, the day overtook him, still embarrassed by the contrivance of the perfidious Andromachus in those marshy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot, armed with round bucklers, a few horse, and five lictors who carried the fasces before him. He at length came into the main road, after abundance of trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almost upon him, and he had no more than twelve stadia to make, before he joined the troops under Octavius. All he could do was to gain as soon as possible another summit of these mountains, less impracticable to the horse, and in consequence not so secure. This was under that of the Sinnachi, to which it was joined by a long chain of mountains that filled up all the space between them. Octavius therefore saw plainly the danger that threatened Crassus, and descended first himself from these eminences with a small number of soldiers, to his aid. But he was soon followed by the rest, who, reproaching themselves for their cowardice, flew to his assistance. Upon their arrival, they charged the barbarians so rudely, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that they placed Crassus in the midst of them, and forming a kind of rampart for him with their bucklers, they declared fiercely, that not an arrow of the enemy should approach their general's body, till they were all dead round him, fighting in his defence.

Surena seeing that the Parthians, already repulsed, went on with less vigour to the attack, and if the night came, and the Romans should make the mountains, that it would be impossible for him to take them, he had again recourse to stratagem to amuse Crassus. He gave secret orders that some prisoners should be set at liberty, after having posted a number of his soldiers around them, who, seeming in discourse together, said, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averse to continuing the war with the Romans; that on the contrary, his design was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Crassus with great humanity; and, that the effects might agree with their expressions, as soon as the prisoners were released, the barbarians retired from the fight, and Surena advancing peaceably with his principal officers towards the hill, with his bow unstrung, and arms ex-

tended, invited Crassus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He said with a loud voice, that, contrary to the king his master's will, and through the necessity of a just defence, he made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms; and that at present he was disposed to treat them with mildness and favour, by granting them liberty to retire with entire security on his part. We have observed on more than one occasion, that the peculiar characteristic of these barbarians was to promote the success of their designs by fraud and treachery, and to make no scruple of breaking through their engagements upon such occasions.

The troops of Crassus lent a willing ear to this discourse of Surena, and expressed exceeding joy at it: but Crassus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and perfidy from these barbarians, and to whom so sudden a change was very suspicious, did not easily give into it, and deliberated with his friends. The soldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept the interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches, and went so far as to accuse him of cowardice; charging him with exposing them to be slaughtered by enemies with whom he had not so much as the courage to speak when they appeared unarmed before him.

Crassus at first had recourse to intreaties, and remonstrated to them, that by maintaining their ground for the rest of the day, upon the eminences and difficult places, where they then were, they might easily save themselves when night came on: he even showed them the way, and exhorted them not to frustrate such hopes of their approaching safety. But seeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and by striking their swords upon their shields, even menaced him; apprehending that commotion, he began to descend, and turning about he only said these few words: "Octavius, and you Petronius, with all the officers and captains here present, you see the necessity I am under of taking a step I would willingly avoid, and are witnesses of the indignities and violence I suffer. But I beg you, when you have retired in safety, that you will tell all the world, for the honour of Rome our common mother, that Crassus perished deceived by the enemy, and not abandoned by his citizens." Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Crassus dismissed his lictors, who would have followed him.

The first persons the barbarians sent to him, were two Greeks, who, dismounting from their horses, saluted him with profound respect, and told him in the Greek tongue that he had only to send some of his attendants, and Surena would satisfy him, that himself and those with him came without arms, and with all the fidelity and good intentions possible. Crassus re-

plied, that had he set the least value upon his life, he should not have come to have put himself into their hands ; and sent two brothers, named Roscius, to know only upon what footing they should treat, and in what number.

Surena caused those two brothers to be seized and kept prisoners ; and advancing on horseback, followed by the principal officers of his army, as soon as he perceived Crassus, " what " do I see !" said he, " what ! the general of the Romans on " foot, and we on horseback ! Let an horse be brought immediately." He imagined that Crassus appeared in that manner before him out of respect. Crassus replied, " that there " was no reason to be surprised that they came to an interview " each after the * custom of his own country." " Very good," returned Surena ; " from henceforth let there be a treaty of " peace between king Orodes and the Romans ; but we must " go to prepare and sign the articles of it upon the banks of the " Euphrates ; for you Romans," added he, " do not always " remember your conventions." At the same time he held out his hand to him. Crassus would have sent for an horse ; but Surena told him there was no occasion for it, and that the king made him a present of that.

A horse was immediately presented to him, which had a golden bit ; and the king's officers, taking him round the middle, set him upon it, surrounded him, and began to strike the horse to make him go forwards fast. Octavius was the first, who, offended at such behaviour, took the horse by the bridle. Petronius seconded him, and afterwards all the rest of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to stop the horse, and to make those retire by force, who pressed Crassus forwards. At first they pushed against each other with great tumult and disorder, and afterwards came to blows ; Octavius, drawing his sword killed a groom of one of those barbarians. At the same time another of them gave Octavius a great wound with his sword behind, which laid him dead upon the spot. Petronius, who had no shield, received a stroke upon his cuirass, and leaped from his horse without being wounded. Crassus at the same moment was killed by a Parthian. Of those that were present, some were killed fighting around Crassus, and others retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians soon followed them thither, and told them, that Crassus had suffered the punishment due to his treachery ; but for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come down with confidence, and gave them his word that they should suffer no ill treatment. Upon this promise, some went down, and put themselves into the hands of the enemy ; others took

* Amongst the Romans the consul always marched on foot, at the head of the infantry.

the advantage of the night, and dispersed on all sides ; but of the latter very few escaped ; all the rest were pursued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them, and put them to the sword.

The loss of this battle was the most terrible blow the Romans had received from the battle of Cannæ. They had 20,000 men killed in it, and 10,000 taken prisoners. The rest made their escape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria ; and out of these wrecks another army was afterwards formed in Syria, of which Cassius took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat ought in one sense to have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannæ, because they had less reason to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a state of humiliation : she had already lost many battles, and had no thought but of defending herself and repulsing the enemy. At this time Rome was triumphant, respected, and formidable to all nations ; she was mistress of the most potent kingdoms of Europe, Asia, and Africa, lately victorious over one of the most powerful enemies she ever had ; yet in the most exalted height of her greatness, she saw her glory suddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the assemblage of the eastern nations whose valour she despised, and whom she reckoned already almost amongst her conquests. So complete a victory showed those haughty conquerors of the world a rival in a remote people, capable of making head against, and of disputing the empire of the universe with them : and not only of setting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them apprehend for their own safety. It showed that the Romans might be overthrown in a pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces ; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty sea, had overflowed all the countries in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be restrained for the future within them.

The check received by Crassus from the Parthians was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained some time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The standards of the vanquished legions were always shown to them as sights. The * prisoners taken in that fatal day were kept there in cap-

* *Milane Crassi conjuge Barbara
Turpis maritus vixit ? et hostium
(Proh Curia, inversique mores !)
Consenuit socerorum in armis ;
Sub rege Medo Marsus et Appulus,
Anciliorum nominis et togæ
Oblitus, eternæque Vestæ,
Incolumi Jove, et urbe Roma.*

tivity ; and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted ignominious marriages, to the shame of Rome, as Horace emphatically describes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the standard of the barbarians. It was not till 30 years after, in the reign of Augustus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, consented to restore their standards and prisoners to the Romans, which was looked upon by Augustus, and the whole empire, as a most glorious triumph ; so much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and so much did they believe it incumbent on them to efface it, if possible, to the least trace ; for themselves they could never forget it. Cæsar was upon the point of setting out against the Parthians, to avenge the affront Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Antony formed the same design, which turned to his disgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the most important of their wars. It was the object of the application of their most warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimius, Severus, &c. The surname of Parthius was the title of which they were fondest, and most sensibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans sometimes passed the Euphrates to extend their conquests beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the same, to carry their arms and devastations into Syria, and even into Palestine. In a word, the Romans could never subject the Parthians to their yoke : and that nation was like a wall of brass, which with impregnable force resisted the most violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabazus. The latter, upon the return of the expresses he had sent to Crassus, perceiving, by the false measure he took, that the Romans were infallibly lost, made an accommodation with Orodes ; and by giving one of his daughters to Pacorus, the son of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. Whilst they were celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Crassus were brought to them, which Surena had caused to be cut off, and sent the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that sight, and it was said that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, to reproach the insatiable thirst which Crassus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory. His master, jealous of his glory, and of the credit it gave him, caused him to be put to death soon after. There are princes, near whom too shining qualities are dangerous, who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and cannot bear to be served by superior talents, capable of eclipsing their own. Oro-

des was of this character*. He perceived, as Tacitus observes of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not sufficiently repay the service his general had lately done him. Now, when a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take place, instead of acknowledgment and affection.

Surena was a general of extraordinary merit. He was of consummate ability at 30 years of age, and surpassed all men of his times in valour. He was, besides that, perfectly well made, and of the most advantageous stature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had also more than any man, and was undoubtedly the greatest subject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown upon the king's head at his coronation; and that right had appertained to his family from the establishment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always 1000 camels to carry his baggage, 200 chariots for his wives and concubines, and for his guard, 1000 horse completely armed, besides a great number of light armed troops and domestics, which in all did not amount to less than 10,000 men.

The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Cassius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with so much vigour, that they were obliged to repossess the Euphrates shamefully, without effecting any thing.

The next year the consuls, M. Calpurnius Bibulus and M. Tullius Cicero, were assigned the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him; but Bibulus amusing himself at Rome, Cassius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity to Bibulus. Pacorus, son of Orodes king of the Parthians, had passed the Euphrates in the beginning of the spring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone and was therefore accompanied by Orsaces, an old general, who disposed every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he besieged. Cassius had shut himself up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus king of Comagena, assembled all his forces, and marched to the eastern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppose an invasion on that side, should the Armenians attempt it, and at the same

* *Destrui per hæc fortunam suam Cæsar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur. Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 18.*

§ A. M. 3958. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. ad Famil. l. ii. epist. x. 17. iii. 2. xii. 19. xv. 1—4. Ad. Attic. l. 20. v. 18, 21. vi. 1, 8. vii. 2.

time to be at hand to support Cassius in case of need. He sent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the same view. That detachment fell in with a great detachment of the Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and entirely defeated it; so that not a single man escaped.

The news of this defeat, and that of Cicero's approach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Cassius and his troops to make a good defence, and so much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that, despairing to carry the place they raised the siege, and went to form that of Antigonias, which was not far from thence. But they were so little skilled in attacking towns, that they miscarried again before this, and were reduced to retire. That was no wonder; the Parthians made their principal force consist in cavalry, and applied themselves most to field battle, which suited their genius best. Cassius, who was apprized of the route they would take, laid an ambuscade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them entirely, and killed a great number of them, amongst whom was their general Orsaces. The remains of their army repassed the Euphrates.

When Cicero saw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms against the inhabitants of mount Amanus, who, being situated between Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with both these provinces. They made continual incursions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero entirely subjected those mountaineers, and took and demolished all their castles and forts. He afterwards marched against another barbarous nation, a kind of savages, who called themselves † free Cilicians, and pretended to have never been subjected to the empire of any of the Kings who had been masters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made such dispositions in the country as very much pleased all their neighbours whom they perpetually harassed.

It is Cicero himself who relates these circumstances in several of his letters. There are two, among the rest, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner in which a general or commander ought to give a prince or his ministry an account of a military expedition; with such simplicity, perspicuity, and precision, in which the proper character of writings and relations of this kind consists, are they expressed. The first is addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and to the principal magistrates; it is the second of his fifteenth book of familiar epistles: the other is written particularly to Cato. This last is a masterpiece; wherein Cicero, who passionately desired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and address of eloquence to engage that grave senator in his favour.

† Eleuthero Cilices.

Plutarch tells us†, that after his return to Rome, the senate offered him a triumph; and that he refused it upon account of the civil war then ready to break out between Cæsar and Pompey, not believing that it became him to celebrate a solemnity which breathed nothing but joy, at a time when the state was upon the point of falling into the greatest calamities. His refusal to triumph in the midst of the apprehensions and disorders of a bloody civil war, argues in Cicero a great love for the public good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itself could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar and those that followed, the Parthians, declaring sometimes for one and sometimes for the other party, made several irruptions into Syria and Palestine. But those are events which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewish histories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

I shall conclude this abridgement of that of the Parthians, with the deaths of Pacorus and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Antony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-establishing the honour of the nation. He was a soldier of fortune, who, from the lowest condition of * life, had raised himself by his merit to the highest dignities of the republic. In the war against the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force, he was taken an infant, with his mother in Asculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, and led in triumph before that general. Supported by the credit of C. Cæsar, under whom he had served in Gaul, and passed through all the degrees of the army, he became prætor and consul. He was the only person that triumphed for his exploits against the Parthians, and obtained that honour after having been led in a triumph himself.

I have said that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had begun to revenge the defeat of Crassus and his army, by two successive victories gained over those terrible enemies. A third, still greater than the former, completed the work, and was obtained in this manner:

That § general, apprehending the Parthians, whose preparations were much advanced, would prevent him, and pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together, out of their different quarters, had recourse to this stratagem:

† Plut. in Cic. p. 379.

‡ Vell. Patere. l. ii. c. 65. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 4.

§ A. M. 3965. Ant. l. C. 39. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 8, 24. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian. in Parth. p. 156. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 402, 404. Justin. l. 43, c. 4.

There was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be entirely in the interest of the Parthians, and that he held secret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the designs of the Romans which he could discover. He resolved to make this man's treachery the means to draw the Parthians into a snare he had laid for them.

With that view he contracted a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He conversed frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affecting at length to open himself to him with great confidence, he observed, that he was much afraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians did not design to pass the Euphrates at Zeugma, as usual, but a great way lower; for, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side is so mountainous that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt; but if they pass below, there are nothing but plains, where they will have all manner of advantages against us; and it will be impossible for us to make head against them. As soon as he had imparted this secret to him, the spy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreseen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effect he could desire. Pacorus, instead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other route, lost abundance of time in the great compass he was obliged to take, and in the preparations necessary for passing the river there. Ventidius got 40 days by this means, which he employed in making Silon of Judæa join him, with the legions quartered on the other side of the mount Taurus, and found himself in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when they entered Syria.

As they saw that they had not been attacked either in passing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though situated very advantageously upon an eminence, not doubting but they should soon make themselves masters of it, and that without much resistance. They were mistaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuosity, and pushed them with the utmost vigour upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light armed troops poured showers of darts upon the Parthians, they soon put them into disorder, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made at first. The slaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle; and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquished made haste to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country: but the Romans prevented them, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Some few escaped by flight, and retired to Antiochus king of Comagena. History observes, that this celebrated battle, which so well revenged the

defeat of Crassus, was fought exactly on the same day with the battle of Carræ, 14 years before.

* Orodes was so struck with the loss of this battle, and the death of his son, that he was almost out of his senses. For several days he neither opened his mouth nor took any nourishment. When the excess of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to speak, nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he saw him, and called to him; he seemed to discourse with him; and, as if he were living, to speak to him, and hear him speak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and shed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more just. This was the most fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received; nor was the loss of the prince less than that of the army itself; for he was the most excellent person the house of the Arsacides had ever produced, for justice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which constitute the truly great prince. He had made himself so much beloved in Syria during the little time he resided there, that never did the people express more affection for any of their native sovereigns than for the person of this foreign prince.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection into which the death of his dear son Pacorus had thrown him, he found himself extremely embarrassed about the choice of his successor out of his other children. He had 30 by different women, each of whom solicited him in favour of her own, and made use of all the ascendancy she had over a spirit impaired by age and affliction. At last he determined however to follow the order of birth and nominated Phraates, the eldest and most vicious of them all. † He had scarce taken possession of the throne, when he caused all his brothers whom his father had by the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, king of Syria, to be murdered, and that only because their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himself. The father, who was still alive, not being able to avoid professing extreme displeasure upon that occasion, that unnatural son ordered him also to be put to death. He treated the rest of his brothers in the same manner, and did not spare his own son, from the apprehension that the people would set him upon the throne in his stead. It was

* Orodes, repente filii morte et exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furorem vertitur. Multis diebus non alloqui quenkum, non cibum sumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Post multos deinde dies, ubi dolor, vocem laxaverat, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audire videbatur: cum illo loqui, cum illo consistere. Interdum quasi amissum flebiliter dolebat.

† A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

this prince, so strict in regard to all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with peculiar favour and clemency.

ARTICLE III.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF CAPPADOCIA.

I have spoke, in several parts of this history, of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occasion, but without mentioning either beginning or succession. I shall here unite in one point of view all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country* of Asia Minor. The Persians, under whom it was at first, had divided it into two parts, and established two satrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whose possession it fell, suffered those two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended towards mount Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Major; the other towards Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor. They were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo says, that Ariarathes was the first king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. It † is probable that it was about the time Philip, father of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Persia; admitting that the kingdom of Cappadocia continued 376 years before it was reduced to a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius.

It was governed at first by a long succession of kings named Ariarathes, then by kings called Ariobarzanes, who did not exceed the third generation; and at length by the last, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there were many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes; but as their history is almost entirely unknown, I shall make no mention of it in this place.

‡ Ariarathes I. He reigned jointly with his brother Heliophernes, for whom he had a particular affection.

§ Having joined the Persians in the expedition against Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours, by king Ochus.

|| Ariarathes II. son of the former ||, had lived at peace in his dominions during the wars of Alexander the Great, who, out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed for the conquest of Cappadocia, and had contented himself with some instances of submission.

* Strab. l. xi. p. 353, 354.

† A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

‡ A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

§ A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 351.

|| A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 366.

Plat. in Eumen. p. 248. Diod. l. xviii. p. 299.

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him in possession of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his side prepared for a vigorous defence. He had 30,000 foot, and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated, and taken prisoner. Perdiccas caused him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into possession of his dominions.

Ariarathes III. after the death of his father, escaped into Armenia.

* As soon as he was apprised of the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and the employment the other wars gave Antigonos and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops lent him by Aradotes king of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedonians, drove him out of the country, and re-ascended the throne of his ancestors.

† Ariamnes his eldest son succeeded him. He entered into an alliance with Antiochus Theos king of Syria, and married his eldest son to Stratonice, the daughter of the same Antiochus. He had so great an affection for this son that he made him his colleague in the kingdom.

Ariarathes IV. having reigned alone after the death of his father, left his dominions when he died to his son of the same name with himself, who was at that time very young.

Ariarathes V. He married Antiochus, daughter of Antiochus the Great, an artful princess, who, finding herself barren, had recourse to imposture. She deceived her husband, and made him believe that she had two sons, one of whom was called Ariarathes, and the other § Holophernes. Her barrenness ceasing sometime after, she had two daughters, and then one son, who was named Mithridates. She confessed the fraud to her husband, and sent one of the supposed children to be brought up at Rome, with a small train, and the other into Ionia. The true son took the name of Ariarathes, and was educated after the manner of the Greeks.

Ariarathes V. supplied his father-in-law, Antiochus king of Syria with troops, in the war which he undertook against the Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariarathes sent ¶ ambassadors to Rome to ask the senate's pardon, for having been obliged to declare against the Romans in favour of his father-in-law. This was granted him, but not till after he had been

* A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315. † A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284.

‡ A. M. 2814. Ant. J. C. 190.

§ He is called so by Polybius, and Orophernes by Diodorus Siculus.

¶ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 40. l. xxxviii. n. 37, et 39.

condemned to pay, by way of expiation of his fault, 200 talents, that is to say, 200,000 crowns. The senate afterwards abated him half that sum, at the request of Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his son-in-law Eumenes, against Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themselves arbiters of the kings of the east, sent ambassadors to transact a treaty between those three princes, but Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However, two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes upon conditions sufficiently hard.

The latter had a son of his own name, who loved him in the most tender manner, which occasioned his being surnamed Philopater, and for whom he had no less affection. He desired to give him a proof of it, in resigning the kingdom to him, and placing him upon the throne during his life. The son who had all possible affection and respect for a father that so well deserved both, could not resolve to accept an offer so advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but a mortal wound to so good a heart as his : and represented to his father, that he was not one of those who could consent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generosity, disinterestedness, and sincere affection for a father, are the more extraordinary, and were the more admired, as in the times of which we are now relating the history, inordinate ambition respected nothing, and boldly violated the most sacred ties of nature and religion.

Ariarathes VI. surnamed Philopater, reigned after his father's death, and was an excellent prince. As soon * as he ascended the throne, he sent an embassy to Rome to renew the alliance his father had contracted with the Romans, which he found no difficulty to obtain. He applied himself very closely to the study of philosophy ; from whence Cappadocia, which till then had been unknown to the Greeks, became the residence of many learned men.

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a sister, whom Ariarathes refused to espouse, lest that alliance should give offence to the Romans. That refusal extremely prejudiced Demetrius against the king of Cappadocia. He soon found an occasion to be revenged, by supplying Holophernes with troops, who pretended himself the brother of Ariarathes. expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiscated the estates of the greatest lords, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been revered by the people from time immemorial, and had never suffered such a violation before. Apprehending a revolution, which his cruelty gave

* A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. in Eclog. l. xxxi. p. 865.

him reason to expect, he deposited 400 talents* with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The usurper sent his deputies thither also. The senate, according to the usual motive of their policy, decreed that the kingdom should be divided between the two brothers. † Ariarathes found a more immediate and more effectual protector in the person of Attalus king of Pergamus, who signalised the beginning of his reign by re-establishing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his ancestors. Ariarathes, to revenge himself on the usurper, was for obliging the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the 400 talents Holophernes had left with them. They opposed that demand with pleading the inviolable faith of deposits, which would not admit their giving up that sum to any one whatsoever, during the life of the person who had confided it to their keeping. Ariarathes had no regard to so just a representation, and laid waste their lands without mercy; notwithstanding which, so considerable a loss did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themselves obliged to observe in regard to him, who had confided that deposit with them.

Holophernes had ‡ retired to Antioch, where he joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of that city against Demetrius his benefactor, whose place he had conceived hopes of supplying. The conspiracy was discovered, and Holophernes imprisoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more advisable to reserve him, in order to make use of him afterwards in the pretensions he had upon Cappadocia, and the design he had formed of dethroning and destroying Ariarathes: but he was prevented by the plot contrived against him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who set Alexander Bala upon the throne in his stead.

Ariarathes aided the Romans against Aristonicus,§ who had possessed himself of the kingdom of Pergamus, and perished in the war.

He left six children, whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's services, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of these six princes, apprehending the loss of her authority when they should be of age to reign, poisoned five of them the same year their father died. She had treated the sixth in the same manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mother. The people set him upon the throne, after having destroyed that cruel murderer of her children.

* 400,000 crowns.

† A. M. 384. Ant. J. C. 159.

‡ Justin. l. xxv. c. 1.

§ A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 139. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

Ariarathes VII.* He married another Laodice, sister of Mithridates Eupater, and had two sons by her, Ariarathes VIII. and Ariarathes IX. His brother-in-law caused him to be murdered by Gordius, one of his subjects. Laodice afterwards married Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who immediately took possession of Cappadocia. Mithridates sent an army thither, drove out the garrisons of Nicomedes, and restored the kingdom to his nephew, the son of the same Ariarathes whom he had caused to be assassinated.

Ariarathes VIII. had scarce ascended the throne, when Mithridates pressed him to recal Gordius from banishment, with design to rid himself of the son by the same assassin who had killed the father. That young prince shuddered at the proposal, and raised an army to oppose the violence of his uncle. Mithridates being unwilling to decide his measures by the hazard of a battle, chose rather to draw Ariarathes to a conference, in which he assassinated him with a dagger concealed for that purpose, in the view of the two armies. He set his own son, of only eight years old, in his place, caused him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor†. The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the vexations of the lieutenants of Mithridates, rose in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Asia, and placed him upon the throne.

Ariarathes IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew, and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a distemper on him, of which he died soon after. Mithridates had re-established his son upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in possession of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, set up an infant of eight years old, to whom he also gave the name of Ariarathes, and sent deputies to the Romans to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice his wife went expressly to Rome to support the imposture, and to testify that she had three sons by Ariarathes VII. of whom this, which she produced, was the last. Mithridates, on his side, ventured to have assurances made by Gordius, that this son, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the son of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war against Aristonicus. What times were these! What a series is here of frauds and impostures! The Roman people saw through them; and, not to support them on either side, decreed that Mithridates should renounce Cappadocia, which for the future should enjoy its liberty, and govern itself as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians sent to Rome to declare that liberty was insupportable to

* A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 1.

† Justin. l. xxviii. c. 2.

them, and to demand a king. We may be justly astonished at the taste of a people who could prefer slavery to liberty ; but there are capricious and corrupt nations, to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republican government ; and there are few people who are wise enough to make a moderate use of perfect and entire liberty. The Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whose family was extinct at the third generation.

Ariobarzanes I *. This new prince did not enjoy his dignity in peace. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and reinstated Ariarathes, son of Mithridates. The Romans caused Ariobarzanes to be reinstated. He was expelled some time after by an army sent by Mithridates into Cappadocia in favour of his son. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the instigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off 300,000 men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia †. Ariobarzanes, who had escaped to Rome before the invasion, was not restored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridates.

Ariobarzanes II. Pompey had considerably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him upon the throne of Cappadocia. His son succeeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long : he was killed some time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was Ariobarzanes III. grandson of Ariobarzanes I.

Ariobarzanes III. Cicero ‡, upon quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all possible care, as a prince whose welfare was dear to the senate and people ; a glorious testimonial, which had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the senate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conspiracy was on foot against him in favour of his brother Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot ; that indeed he had been earnestly solicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averse to such thoughts during the life of his brother, who had no issue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the credit his high reputation gave him, to dispel the storm with which the

* A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Appian. in Mith. p. 176, &c. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla.

† A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.

‡ A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. Epist. 2, et 4. l. xiv. ad Famil. et Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

king was threatened. His * endeavours were successful ; he saved the king's life and crown by his constancy, and a generous disinterestedness, which rendered him inaccessible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to make him change sides. The greatest danger came from the high priest of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one in Cappadocia, and the other in the kingdom of Pontus†. They were consecrated to Bellona, and observed almost the same ceremonies in the worship of that goddess. The one was formed upon the model of the other ; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter we speak in this place. The temple of that goddess was endowed with great estates, and served by a great number of persons, under the authority of a pontiff, a man of great credit, and so considerable that only the king was his superior : he was generally of the blood royal. His dignity was for life. Strabo says, that in his time there were above 6,000 persons consecrated to the service of this temple. From hence the high priest was so powerful ; and ‡ in the time of which we speak, might have occasioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties, had he thought proper to defend himself by force of arms, as it was believed he would : for he had troops, both horse and foot, ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and subsist them. But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable possession of it.

During the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with some troops to the latter, who were present at the battle of Pharsalia. This, no doubt, was the reason that Cæsar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain he exacted very considerable sums of money from him § ; for that prince represented to him that it would be impossible for him to pay them if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Cæsar was then in Egypt ; from whence he set out to reduce Pharnaces to reason. He passed through Cappadocia, and made such regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother were in no very good understanding, and entirely subjected

* Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat Εν πρόσω consilio et auctoritate, et quod proditoribus ejus ἀποστῆναι μὲν, non modo ἀδυνατούντων præbui, regem, regnumque servavi. Cic. Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

† Strab. xiii. p. 535 et 537.

‡ Cum magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se (quod facturus putabatur) defenderet, adolescens et equitatu et peditatu et pecunia paratus, et toto, in qui novari aliquid volebant per te ut e regno ille discederet ; rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omne auctoritate aulæ communito, regnum cum dignitate obtineret. Cic. Epist. 4. lib. xv. ad Famil.

§ Cæsar de Bell. Civ. iii. Hist. de Bell. Alex.

the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæsar had conquered Pharnaces †, he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

This good treatment gave the murderers of Cæsar ‡ reason to believe that the king of Cappadocia would not favour their party. He did not openly declare against them; but he refused to enter into their alliance. This conduct gave them a just diffidence of him; so that Cassius thought it incumbent upon him not to spare him. He attacked him, and having taken him prisoner, put him to death.

Ariarathes X. By the death of Ariobarzanes, the kingdom of Cappadocia remained to his brother Ariarathes. The possession of it was disputed with him by Sisinna, the eldest son of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high priest of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was the grandson of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates against Sylla. He abandoned the party of Mithridates in the second war, as we shall relate in the 22d book ||, and joined the Romans. He left one son named also Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed six months after in a battle. He obtained a very honourable dignity of Pompey, which was the high priesthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His son Archelaus possessed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two sons by her, Sisinna and Archelaus. * They first disputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, who possessed it. Mark Antony was the judge of this difference, and determined it in favour of Sisinna. What became of him is not known: history only tells us, that Ariarathes re-ascended the throne. Five or six years after, Mark Antony expelled him, §, and set Archelaus, the second son of Glaphyra, upon the throne.

Archelaus. †† That prince became very powerful. He expressed his gratitude to Mark Antony, by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was so fortunate, notwithstanding that conduct, to escape the resentment of Augustus. He was suffered to keep possession of Cappadocia, and was almost the only one treated with so much favour.

He assisted Tiberius ‡‡ to re-establish Tigranes in Armenia, and obtained of Augustus, Armenia Minor, and a great part of

† Diod. l. xlii. p. 183.

‡ A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42. Diod. l. xlvii.

|| Strab. xii. p. 558. Diod. l. xxxix. p. 116.

* A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 675.

§ A. M. 3968. Ant. J. C. 36. Diod. l. xlix. p. 411.

†† A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31. Plut. in Anton. p. 914.

‡‡ A. M. 3984. Ant. J. C. 20. Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5. Diod. l. liv. p. 526. Sueton in Tib. c. viii. Diod. l. lvii. p. 614. Strab. l. xiv. p. 671. et l. xii. p. 556.

Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great services with Augustus, especially when his subjects brought accusations against him before that prince. He pleaded his cause himself, and was the occasion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his residence in the island of Eleusis, near the coast of Cilicia, and having married Pythodoris, the widow of Polemon king of Pontus, he considerably augmented his power: for as the sons of Polemon were infants at that time, he had undoubtedly the administration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.

His reign was very long and happy: § but his latter years were unfortunate, in effect of Tiberius's revenge. That prince, who saw with pain that Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, grandsons of Augustus, and his sons by adoption, were raised by degrees above him, || to avoid giving umbrage to the two young Cæsars, and to spare himself the mortification of being witness to their aggrandisement, demanded and obtained permission to retire to Rhodes, under pretext that he had occasion to withdraw from business, and the hurry of Rome, for the re-establishment of his health. His retreat was considered as a real banishment; and people began to neglect him as a person in disgrace, and did not believe it safe to appear his friends. * During his stay at Rhodes, king Archelaus, who was not very remote from thence, residing generally at Eleusis, † paid him no honours, forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, says Tacitus, out of pride or haughtiness, but by the advice of Augustus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous at that time. On the contrary, ‡ when young Caius Cæsar, appointed governor of the east, was sent into Armenia by Augustus, to appease the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future successor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and distinguished himself by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often mistaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear insight into futurity. It had been more consistent with

§ A. M. 3988. Ant. J. C. 16. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 662. Sueton in Tib. c. x. Vall Paterc. l. ii. c. 99.

|| Ne sulgor suis orientium juvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa consilii sui, commeatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico acquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit. Paterc. l. ii. c. 99.

* Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, invisus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus; quia florente Caio Cæsare missoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.

† Eleusis was but six leagues distant from Rhodes. Strab. l. xiv. p. 651.

‡ A. M. 4002. Ant. J. C. 2.

prudence and wisdom in Archelaus to have observed such a conduct as had been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is observed of Pomponius Atticus, § who during the division with which the republic was torn at different times always knew how to render himself agreeable to both parties.

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offensive to him as it argued an ungrateful disposition in Archelaus. He made him highly sensible of this when he became master. Archelaus was cited to Rome, || as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livy wrote to him; and without dissembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in person to demand it. This was a snare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. The ¶ king of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not act as if he did. He set out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and saw himself proceeded against as a criminal. Dion assures us, that Archelaus, depressed with age, was generally believed to have lost his reason, but that in reality he was perfectly in his senses, and counterfeited the mad man, because he saw no other means of saving his life. The senate passed no sentence against him; but age, the gout, and, more than these, the indignity of the treatment he was made to suffer, soon occasioned his death. He had reigned 52 years. After his death Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were so considerable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himself able, from his new acquisition, to abate the half of a tax he had caused to be levied. He even gave that province some relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the last king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally resided at Mazaca,* a city situated upon the mountain Argea, and governed by the laws

§ Hoc quale sit, facilius existimabit is, qui judicare quantæ sit sapientiæ, eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque inter quos maximarum rerum non solum æmulatio, sed obtreectatio tanto intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atque Antonium, cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romanæ sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet. Corn. Nep. in Attic. c. xx.

|| A. M. 4020. A. D. 16.

¶ Ille ignarus doli, vel, si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat: exceptusque immiti a principe, et mox accusatus a senatu; non ob crimina, quæ singebantur, sed angore, simul fessus senio, et quia regibus æqua, nedum infima, insolita sunt, finem vitæ sponte ætato implevit. Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.

* Strab. l. xii. p. 537, 539.

of ¶ Charondas. This city was built upon the river Melas, which empties itself into the Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo only calls Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country; after which, he caused small islands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he passed part of his life in puerile diversions. The river broke the dams of its mouths; and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates, having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damage in Cappadocia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, suffered also great losses by that torrent; for which they insisted upon being made amends.

They demanded 300 talents of the king of Cappadocia, and made the Romans their judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horses, asses ¶, and mules. It was from thence the horses were brought, so particularly allotted for the use of the emperors, that the consuls themselves were forbid to have any of them. It furnished also great numbers of * slaves and false witnesses. The Cappadocians were reported to accustom themselves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and to put one another to the question by the rack and other methods of torture, in order to inure themselves against the pains their false witness might one day expose them to suffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury †, though the latter had carried that vice to a great height, if we may believe Cicero, who ascribes to them the having made this manner of speaking common amongst them: "Lend me your evidence ‡, " and I'll pay you with mine."

Cappadocia, generally speaking, was far from being a country of great geniuses and learned men. It has produced, however, some very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pausanias are of that number. It was believed especially, that the Cappadocians were very unfit for the profession of orators; and it became a proverb, that a § rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found as a white raven or a flying tortoise, S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to this rule.

¶ This Charondas was a celebrated legislator of Græcia Major, of whom mention has been made.

¶ Boch. Phaleg. l. iii c. 11. Schol. Persii.

* Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex. Horat.

† Cic. pro Flac. n. 9, 10.

‡ Da mihi testimonium mutuum.

§ Θέρτων ὄν γευκὺς κοράκας πτηνὰς χελώνας
Εὐδῶν, ἢ δόκιμον ῥήτορα Καππαδόκεν.

BOOK XXI.

THE HISTORY OF SYRACUSE.

PLAN.

THIS twenty-first book contains the conclusion of the history of Syracuse. It may be divided into three parts. The first includes the long reign of Hiero II. The second, the short reign of his grandson Hieronymus, the troubles of Syracuse consequential of it, and the siege and taking of that city by Marcellus. The third is an exact abridgment of the history of Syracuse, with some reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, and upon Archimedes.

ARTICLE I. INCLUDING THE REIGN OF HIERO II.

SECTION I.

HIERO II. CHOSEN CAPTAIN-GENERAL BY THE SYRACUSANS,
AND SOON AFTER APPOINTED KING.

HIERO II. was descended from the family of Gelon, who had formerly reigned in Syracuse*. As his mother was of slavish extraction, his father Hierocles, according to the barbarous customs of those times, caused him to be exposed soon after his birth; believing that the infant dishonoured the nobility of his race. If Justin's fabulous account may be believed, the bees nourished him several days with their honey. The oracle declaring, that so singular an event was a certain presage of his future greatness, Hierocles caused him to be brought back to his house, and took all possible care of his education.

The child improved as much from the pains taken to form him as could be expected. He distinguished himself early from all those of his years, by his address in military exercises, and his courage in battle. He acquired the esteem of Pyrrhus, and received several rewards from his own hands. He was of a

* A. M. 3700. Hist. J. C. 304. Justin, l. xxiij. c. 4.

beautiful aspect, large stature, and robust complexion. In his conversation * he was humane and polite, in business just, and moderate in command, so that he wanted nothing royal, except a throne.

† Discord having arisen between the citizens of Syracuse and their troops, the latter, who were in the neighbourhood, raised Artemidorus and Hiero to the supreme command, which comprehended all authority civil and military. The latter was at that time 30 years old; but of a prudence and maturity that promised a great king. Honoured with this command, by the help of some friends he entered the city, and having found means to bring over the adverse party, who were intent upon nothing but raising disorders, he behaved with so much wisdom and greatness of mind, that the Syracusans, though highly dissatisfied with the liberty assumed by the soldiers of making such an election without any right, were however unanimous in conferring upon him the title and power of supreme commander.

From his first measures, it was easy to judge that the new magistrate aspired at something more than that office. In effect, observing that the troops no sooner quitted the city, than Syracuse was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits and lovers of novelty, he perceived how important it was, in the absence of himself and the army, to have somebody upon whom he might rely for keeping the citizens within the bounds of their duty. Leptinus seemed very fit for this purpose. He had abundance of persons devoted to his interest, and was in very great credit with the people. Hiero attached him to himself for ever, by espousing his daughter; and by the same alliance secured the public tranquillity, during the time he should be obliged to remove from Syracuse, and march at the head of the armies.

Another much bolder, though far less just, stroke of policy, established his security and repose. He had every thing to fear from the foreign soldiers, turbulent malignant men, void of respect for their commanders, and of affection for a state of which they made no part, solely actuated by the desire of command and lucre, and always ready for a revolt; who having been bold enough to assume a right in the election of magistrates, which did not belong to them, were capable, upon the least discontent, of attempting any thing against himself. He easily comprehended, that he should never have the mastery over them, from their being too well united among themselves; that if he undertook to punish the most criminal, their chastisement would only provoke the rest; and that the only means to

* In alloquio blandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus: prorsus ut nihil et regium deesse præter regnum videretur. Justin.

† A. M. 3722. Ant. J. C. 275. Polyb. l. i. p. 8, 9.

put an end to the troubles they occasioned, was utterly to exterminate the factious militia, whose licentiousness and rebellious disposition were only fit to corrupt others, and incline them to pernicious excesses. Deceived by a false zeal, and blind love for the public good, and sensibly affected also with the prospect of the dangers to which he was perpetually exposed, he thought it incumbent on him, for the safety of his country, and security of his person, to proceed to a cruel and sad extremity, equally contrary to his character and justice, but which seemed necessary to him in the present conjuncture. He therefore took the field, under the pretext of marching against the * Mamertines. When he came within view of the enemy, he divided his army into two parts: on the one side he posted such of the soldiers who were Syracusans; on the other, those who were not so.

He put himself at the head of the first, as if he intended an attack, and left the others exposed to the Mamertines, who cut them in pieces: after which he returned quietly to the city with the Syracusan troops.

The army being thus purged of all who might excite disorders and sedition, he raised a sufficient number of new troops, and afterwards discharged the duties of his function in peace. The Mamertines, elated with their first success, advancing into the country, he marched against them with the Syracusan troops, whom he had armed and disciplined well, and gave them battle in the plain of Myla. A great part of the enemy were left upon the place, and their generals made prisoners. At his return he was declared king by all the citizens of Syracuse, and afterwards by the allies. This happened seven years after his being raised to the supreme authority.

It would be difficult to justify the manner in which he attained that eminence. Whether he put the foreign soldiers in motion himself, which seems probably enough, or only lent himself to their zeal, it was a criminal infidelity to his country, and the public authority, to which his example gave a mortal wound. It is true, the irregularity of his entrance upon office was somewhat amended by the consent which the people and the allies afterwards gave to it: but can we suppose, in such a conjuncture, that their consent was perfectly free? As to his being elected king, there was nothing forced in that. If his secret ambition had any part in it, that fault was well atoned for by his wise and disinterested conduct through the long duration of his reign and life.

The loss of the battle we have spoken of entirely disconcerted the affairs of the Mamertines. Some of them had recourse to

* They were originally Campanian troops whom Agathocles had taken into his pay, and who afterwards seized Messina, having first put the principal inhabitants to the sword.

the Carthaginians, to whom they surrendered their citadel ; others resolved to abandon the city to the Romans, and sent to desire their aid. Hence arose the first punic war, as I have explained more at large * elsewhere.

† Appius Claudius the consul put to sea, in order to aid the Mamertines. Not being able to pass the strait of Messina, of which the Carthaginians had possessed themselves, he made a feint of abandoning that enterprise, and of returning towards Rome with all the troops he had on board his fleet. Upon this news, the enemy, who blocked up Messina on the side next the sea, having retired, as if there had been nothing further to apprehend, Appius tacked about and passed the strait without danger.

‡ The Mamertines, between menaces and surprise, having driven the officer out of the citadel who commanded in it for the Carthaginians, they called in Appius, and opened the gates of their city to him. The Carthaginians soon after formed the siege of it, and made a treaty of alliance with Hiero, who joined his troops to theirs. The Roman consul thought fit to venture a battle, and attacked the Syracusans first. The fight was rude. Hiero shewed all possible courage, but could not resist the valour of the Romans, and was obliged to give way and retire to Syracuse. Claudius having obtained a like victory over the Carthaginians, saw himself master of the field, advanced to the walls of Syracuse, and even designed to have besieged it.

§ When the news of Appius's good success arrived at Rome, it occasioned great joy. In order to make the most of it, it was thought proper to use new efforts. The two consuls lately elected, Manius Otacilius and Manius Valerius, were ordered into Sicily. Upon their arrival, several of the Carthaginian and Syracusan cities surrendered at discretion.

The consternation of Sicily, joined to the number and force of the Roman legions, made Hiero conceive what event this new war was likely to have. That prince was sensible that he might rely upon a more faithful and constant amity on the side of the Romans. He knew that the Carthaginians had not renounced the design they had anciently formed, of possessing themselves of all Sicily ; and if they made themselves masters of Messina, he rightly judged his power would be very insecure in the neighbourhood of such dangerous and formidable enemies. He saw no other expedient for the preservation of his kingdom than to leave the Carthaginians engaged with the Romans ; well assured that the war would be long and obstinate between those two republics, equal in their forces ; and that, as

* Vol. I. History of the Carthaginians.

‡ Polyb. l. i. p. 10, 11.

† Front. Strat. l. i. c. 4.

§ Ibid. p. 15, 16.

long as they should be at blows, he should have no reason to apprehend being distressed either by the one or the other. He therefore sent ambassadors to the consuls to treat of peace and alliance. They were far from refusing those offers. They were too much afraid that the Carthaginians, masters at sea, might cut off all passage for provisions; which fear was the better founded, as the troops who had first passed the strait had suffered extremely by famine. An alliance with Hiero secured the legions in that respect, and was immediately concluded. The conditions were, that the king should restore to the Romans, without ransom, all the prisoners he had taken from them, and pay them 100 * talents in money.

From thenceforth Hiero saw no war in his dominions, nor had any other share in it, than of sending supplies to the Romans upon occasion. In other respects he reigned as a king who had no view nor ambition but the esteem and love of his people. No prince was ever more successful in that point, nor longer enjoyed the fruits of his wisdom and prudence. During more than 50 years that he lived after being elected king, whilst all things were in flames round him, occasioned by the cruel wars which the two most potent states of the world made against each other, he was so prudent and happy to be no more than a spectator of them, and only to hear the noise of those arms which shook all the neighbouring regions; himself and his people retained a profound peace.

† The Romans perceived, on more than one occasion, during the first punic war, and especially at the siege of Agrigentum, with which it was in a manner opened, the importance of their alliance with Hiero, who abundantly supplied them with provisions, at times when the Roman army, without his aid, had been exposed to excessive famine.

The interval between the end of the first punic war and the commencement of the second, which was about 25 years, was a time of peace and tranquillity to Hiero, in which the actions of that prince are little spoken of.

§ Polybius only informs us, that the Carthaginians, in the unhappy war they were obliged to support against the strangers or mercenaries, which was called the African war, finding themselves extremely pressed, had recourse to their allies, and especially to king Hiero, who granted them all they asked of him. That prince conceived, that to support himself in Sicily, it was necessary that the Carthaginians should overcome in this war; lest the strangers, who had already obtained many advantages over the Carthaginians, in case of entire success, should find no further obstacles to their projects, and should form designs of bringing their victorious arms into Sicily. Perhaps also, as he

* 100,000 crowns.

† Polyb. l. i. p. 18.

§ A. M. 3763. Ant. I. C. 241. Polyb. l. i. p. 64.

was an excellent politician, he thought it incumbent on him to be upon his guard against the too great power of the Romans, who would become absolute masters if the Carthaginians should be entirely ruined in the war against the revoltors.

Hiero's sole application during this long interval of peace, was to make his subjects happy, and to redress the evils which the unjust government of Agathocles, who preceded him some years, and the intestine divisions consequential of them, had occasioned: an employment worthy of a king. There was a levity and inconstancy in the character of the Syracusans which often inclined them to excessive and violent resolutions; but at bottom they were humane and equitable, and no enemies to just and reasonable obedience: the proof of which is, that when they were governed with wisdom and moderation, as by Timoleon, they respected the authority of the laws and magistrates, and obeyed them with joy.

Hiero was no sooner entered upon office, and had the supreme authority confided to him, than he showed his detestation for the wretched policy of the tyrants; who, considering the citizens as their enemies, had no other thoughts than to weaken and intimidate them, and reposed their whole confidence in the foreign soldiers, by whom they were perpetually surrounded. He began by putting arms into the hands of the citizens, formed them with care in the exercises of war, and employed them in preference to all others.

SECTION II.

HIERO'S PACIFIC REIGN.—HE DIES VERY OLD, AND MUCH REGRETTED BY THE PEOPLE.

WHEN Hiero attained the sovereign authority, his great application was to convince his subjects, less by his words than his actions, that he was infinitely remote from intending any thing to the prejudice of their fortunes or liberty. He was not intent upon being feared, but upon being loved. He looked upon himself less as their master than as their protector and father. Before his reign, the state had been divided by two factions, that of the citizens, and that of the soldiers; whose differences, supported on both sides with great animosity, had occasioned infinite misfortunes. He used his utmost endeavours to extinguish all remains of this division, and to eradicate from their minds all seeds of discord and misunderstanding. He seems to have succeeded wonderfully in that respect; as, during a reign of more than 50 years, no sedition or revolt disturbed the tranquillity of Syracuse.

What contributed most, without doubt, to his happy calm, was the particular care taken by Hiero to keep his subjects em-

ployed ; to banish luxury and idleness, the parents of all vices, the source of all seditions, from his dominions ; to support and improve the natural fertility of his country ; and to place agriculture in honour, which he looked upon as the certain means to render his people happy, and to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom. The cultivation of lands, indeed, besides employing an infinity of hands, which would otherwise remain idle and unprofitable, draws into a country, by the exportation of grain, the riches of the neighbouring nations, and turns their current into the houses of the people, by a commerce renewing every year the deserved fruit of their labour and industry. This is, and we cannot repeat it too often, what ought to be the peculiar attention, of a wise government, as one of the most essential parts of wise and salutary policy, though unhappily too much neglected.

Hiero applied himself entirely to this end. He did not think it unworthy of the sovereignty to study and be skilful in all the rules of agriculture. * He even gave himself the trouble to compose books upon that subject, of which we ought much to regret the loss : but he considered that object of his inquiries in a manner still more worthy of a king. The principal riches of the state, and the most certain fund of the prince's revenue, consisted in corn. He therefore believed it of the highest consequence, and what demanded his utmost care and application, to establish good order in that traffic ; to render the condition of the husbandman, of whom the greatest part of the people were composed, safe and happy ; to ascertain the prince's dues, whose principal revenue arose from them ; to obviate such disorders as might get ground, to the prejudice of his institutions ; and to prevent the unjust vexations which endeavours might possibly be used to obtrude in the sequel. To answer all these purposes, Hiero made regulations so wise, reasonable, equitable, and at the same time conformable to the people's and prince's interests, that they became in a manner the fundamental laws of the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the Romans had subjected the city and dominions of Syracuse, they imposed no new tributes, and decreed†, that all things should be disposed according to " the laws of Hiero ;" in order that the Syracusans, in changing their masters, might have the consolation not to change their laws ; and see themselves in some measure still governed by a prince, whose name alone

* Polyb. l. xviii. c. 3.

† *Decumas lege Hieronica semper vendendas censuerunt, ut iis jucundior esset munera illius functio, si ejus regis, qui Siculis carissimus fuit, non solum instituta, commutato imperio, verum etiam nomen remaneret.* Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 15.

was always dear to them, and rendered those laws exceedingly venerable.

I have observed, that in Sicily the prince's principal revenue consisted in corn; the tenth being paid him. It was therefore his interest, that the country should be well cultivated; that estimates should be made of all the lands; and that they should produce abundantly, as his revenue augmented in proportion to their fertility. The collectors of this tenth for the prince, which was paid in kind and not in money, were called "decumani," that is to say, "farmers of the tenths." Hiero, in the regulations he made upon this head, did not neglect his own interests, which argues him a wise prince, and good economist. He knew very well that there was reason to apprehend that the country people, who consider the most legal and moderate imposts as intolerable burdens, might be tempted to defraud the prince of his dues. To spare them this temptation, he took such * just and exact precautions, that whether the corn were in the ear, on the floor to be threshed, laid up in barns, or laden for carriage, it was not possible for the husbandman to secret any part of it, or to defraud the collector of a single grain, without exposing himself to a severe penalty. But he adds also, that Hiero had taken the same precautions against the avidity of the collectors, to whom it was equally impossible to extort any thing beyond the tenth. Hiero seems to have been very much against the husbandman's quitting his home upon any pretext whatsoever. Cicero says accordingly, inveighing against Verres, who gave them great trouble, by frequent and painful journeys, it is very hard and afflicting to the poor husbandmen to be brought from their country to the city, from their plough to the bar, and the care of tilling their lands to that of prosecuting law-suits. † *Miserum atque iniquum ex agro homines trahit in forum, ab aratro ab subsellia, ab usu rerum rusticarum ad insolitum litem atque judicium.* And besides, can they flatter themselves, let their cause be ever so just, that they shall carry it to the prejudice of the collectors? *Judico ut arator decumanum persequatur!*

Can there be any thing more to a king's praise than what we have now said? Hiero might undertake wars, for he did not want valour; gain battles, make conquests, and extend the bounds of his dominions; and upon these accounts might pass for a hero, in the sense of the generality of men. But with how many taxes must he have charged his people! How many husbandmen must he have torn from their bands! How much

* Hieronica lex omnibus custodiis subjectum aratorem decumano tradit, ut neque in segetibus, neque in areis, neque in horreis, neque in amovendo, neque in asportando frumento, grano uno posset arator, sine maxima pena, fraudare decumanum. Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 29.

† Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 10.

blood would the gaining those victories have cost him ! And of what emolument would they have been to the state ! Hiero, who knew wherein true glory consists, placed his in governing his people with wisdom, and in making them happy. Instead of conquering new countries by the force of arms, he endeavoured to multiply his own, in a manner, by the cultivation of lands, by rendering them more fertile than they were, and in actually multiplying his people, wherein the true force and riches of a state consists ; and which can never fail to happen, when the people of a country reap a seasonable advantage from their labour.

* It was in the second punic war that Hiero gave distinguished proofs of his attachment to the Romans. As soon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he went with his fleet, well equipped, to meet Tiberius Sempronius, who was arrived at Messina, to offer that consul his services, and to assure him, that advanced in age as he was; he would show the same zeal for the Roman people as he had formerly done in his youth, in the first war against the Carthaginians. He took upon him to supply the consul's legions, and the troops of the allies, with corn and clothes at his own expence. Upon the news received the same instant, of the advantage gained by the Roman over the Carthaginian fleet, the consul thanked the king for his advantageous offers, and made no use of them at that time.

† Hiero's inviolable fidelity for the Romans, which is very remarkable in his character, appears still more conspicuously after their defeat near the lake of Thrasymentum. They had already lost three battles against Hannibal, each more unfortunate and more bloody than the other. Hiero, in that mournful conjuncture, sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of Ostia. The Syracusan ambassadors, upon their being introduced into the senate, told them, " that Hiero, their master, had been as sensibly afflicted on their late defeat, as if he had suffered it in his own person : that though he well knew that the grandeur of the Roman people was almost more admirable in times of adversity than after the most signal successes, he had sent them all the aid that could be expected from a good and faithful ally, and earnestly desired the senate would not refuse to accept it : that they had particularly brought a Victory of gold, that weighed 300 pounds, which the king hoped they would vouchsafe to receive as a favourable augury, and a pledge of the vows which he made for their prosperity : that they had also 300,000 bushels of wheat, and 200,000 of barley ; and that if the Roman people desired a greater quantity, Hiero would cause as much as they pleased to be transported to what

* A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218. Liv. l. xxi. n. 50, 51.

† Ibid. l. xxii. n. 37, 38.

“ever places they should appoint : that he knew the Roman people employed none in their armies but citizens and allies ; but that he had seen light-armed strangers in their camp : that he had therefore sent them 1000 archers and slingers, who might be opposed successfully to the Balears and Moors of Hannibal’s army.” They added to this aid a very salutary piece of counsel, which was, that the prætor who should be sent to command in Sicily, might dispatch a fleet to Africa, in order to find the Carthaginians such employment in their own country as might put it out of their power, by that diversion, to send any succours to Hannibal.

The senate answered the king’s ambassadors in very obliging and honourable terms, “that Hiero acted like a very generous prince, and a most faithful ally : that from the time he had contracted an alliance with the Romans, his attachment for them had been constant and unalterable : in fine, that in all times and places he had powerfully and magnificently supported them : that the people had a due sense of such generosity : that some cities of Italy had already presented the Roman people with gold, who, after having expressed their gratitude, had not thought fit to accept it : that the Victory was too favourable an augury not to be received : that they would place her in the capitol, that is to say, in the temple of the most high Jupiter, in order that she might establish there her fixed and lasting tabernacle.” All the corn and barley on board the ships, with the archers and slingers, were sent to the consuls.

Valerius Maximus * observes here upon the noble and prudent liberality of Hiero ; first, in the generous design he forms of presenting the Romans 300 pounds weight of gold : then in the industrious precaution he uses to prevent their refusal to accept it. He does not offer them that gold in specie ; he knew the exceeding delicacy of the Roman people too well for that : but under the form of a Victory, which they dared not refuse, upon account of the good omen it seemed to bring along with it.

It is extraordinary to see a prince, whose dominions were situated as Syracuse was in regard to Carthage, from which it had every thing to fear, at a time when Rome seemed near her ruin, continue unalterably faithful, and declare openly for her interests, notwithstanding all the dangers to which so daring a conduct exposed him. A more prudent politician, to speak the usual language, would perhaps have waited the event of a new action,

* Trecenta millia modium tritici, et ducenta millia hordei, aurique ducenta et quadreginta pondo urbi nostræ muneri misit. Neque ignarus verecundiæ majorum nostrorum, quod nollet accipere, in habitum id Victoriæ formavit, ut eos religione motos, munificentia sua uti cogeret : Voluntate mittendi prius, iterum providentia cavendi ne remitteretur, liberalia. Val. Max. L. iv. c. 8.

and not have been so hasty to declare himself, without necessity, and at his extreme peril. Such examples are the more estimable for being rare and almost unparalleled.

I do not know, however, whether, even in good policy, Hiero ought not to have acted as he did. It would have been the greatest of all misfortunes for Syracuse had the Carthaginians entirely ruined, or even weakened the Roman too much. That city would have immediately felt all the weight of Carthage; as it was situated over against it, and lay highly convenient for strengthening its commerce, securing it the empire of the sea, and establishing it entirely in Sicily, by the possession of the whole island. It had therefore been imprudent to suffer such allies to be ruined by the Carthaginians, who would not have been the better friends to the Syracusans for their having renounced the Romans by force. It was therefore a decisive point to fly immediately to the aid of the Romans; and as Syracuse would necessarily fall after Rome, it was absolutely requisite to hazard every thing, either to save Rome, or fall with her.

If the facts which history has preserved of so long and happy a reign are few, they do not give us the least idea of this prince, and ought to make us exceedingly regret the want of a more particular information concerning his actions.

* The sum of 100 talents (100,000 crowns) which he sent to the Rhodians, and the presents he made them after the great earthquake that laid waste their island, and threw down their colossus, are illustrious instances of his liberality and magnificence. The modesty with which his presents were attended, infinitely exalts the value of them. He caused two statues to be erected in the public place at Rhodes, representing the people of Syracuse placing a crown upon the head of the Rhodians; as if, says Polybius, Hiero, after having made that people magnificent presents, far from assuming any vanity from his munificence, believed himself their debtor upon that very account. And indeed the liberality and beneficence of a prince to strangers is rewarded with interest, in the pleasure they give himself, and the glory he acquires by them.

There is a pastoral of Theocritus, (Idyll. 16.) named after the king we speak of, wherein the poet seems to reproach that prince tacitly, with paying very ill for the verses made in honour of him. But the mean manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for the verses he meditates, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice upon the poet than upon the prince, distinguished and esteemed, as we have seen, from his liberality.

† It is to Hiero's just taste, and singular attention to every thing that affected the public good, that Syracuse was indebted

* Polyb. l. v. 429.

† Plut. in Marcel. p. 305, 306.

for those amazing machines of war, of which we shall soon see it make so great an use, when besieged by the Romans. Though that prince seemed to devote his cares entirely to the tranquillity and domestic affairs of the kingdom, he did not neglect those of war; convinced, that the surest means to preserve the peace of his dominions was to hold himself always in readiness to make war upon unjust neighbours who should attempt to disturb it. He knew how to use the advantage of having in his dominions the most learned geometrician the world had ever produced; it is plain I mean Archimedes. He was illustrious not only by his great ability in geometry, but his birth, as he was Hiero's relation. Sensible alone to the pleasures of the mind, and highly averse to the hurry and tumult of business and government, he devoted himself solely to the study of a science, whose sublime speculations of truths purely intellectual and spiritual, and entirely distinct from matter, have such attraction with the learned of the first rank, as scarce leaves them at liberty to apply themselves to any other objects.

Hiero had however sufficient power with Archimedes to engage him to descend from those lofty speculations to the practice of the mechanics, which depend on the hand, but are disposed and directed by the head. He pressed him continually not to employ his art always in soaring after immaterial and intellectual objects, but to bring it down to sensible and corporeal things, and to render his reasonings in some measure more evident and familiar to the generality of mankind, by joining them experimentally with things of use.

Archimedes frequently conversed with the king, who always heard him with great attention and extreme pleasure. One day, when he was explaining to him the wonderful effects of the power of motion, he proceeded to demonstrate, "that with a certain given power, any weight whatsoever might be moved." And, applauding himself afterwards on the force of his demonstration, he ventured to boast, that if there were another world besides that we inhabit, by going to that he could remove this at pleasure. The king, surprised and delighted, desired him to put his position in execution, by removing some great weight with a small force.

Archimedes preparing to satisfy the just and rational curiosity of his kinsman and friend, he chose one of the galleys in that port, caused it to be drawn on shore with great labour, and by abundance of men. He then ordered its usual lading to be put on board, and besides that, as many men as it could hold. Afterwards placing himself at some distance, and sitting at his ease, without trouble, or exerting his strength in the least, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which he had provided with cords and pulleys, he drew the galley to him upon

the land, with as much ease, and as upright, as if it had swam upon the water.

The king, upon the sight of so prodigious an effect of the power of motion, was utterly astonished ; and judging from that experiment the efficacy of the art, he earnestly solicited Archimedes to make several sorts of machines and battering engines for sieges and attacks, as well for the defence as assault of places.

It has been sometimes asked, whether the sublime knowledge of which we speak, be necessary to a king : and if the study of arts and sciences ought to be a part of the education of a young prince ? What we read here demonstrates their utility. If king Hiero had wanted taste and curiosity, and employed himself solely in his pleasures, Archimedes had remained inactive in his closet, and all his extraordinary science been of no advantage to his country. What treasures of useful knowledge lie buried in obscurity, and in a manner hid under the earth, because princes set no value upon learned men, and consider them as persons useless to the state ! But when in their youth they have imbibed some small tincture of arts and sciences (for the study of princes ought to extend no farther in that point), they esteem such as distinguish themselves by learning, sometimes converse with them, and place them in honour, and by so glorious a protection, make way for valuable discoveries, of which the state soon reaps the advantage. Syracuse had this obligation to Hiero ; which, without doubt, was the effect of his excellent education ; for he had been bred with uncommon care and attention.

What has been said hitherto of Archimedes, and what we shall presently add upon the admirable machines of war which were used during the siege of Syracuse, show how wrong it is to despise those sublime and speculative sciences, whose only subjects are simple and abstracted ideas. It is true that all mere geometrical or algebraical speculations do not relate to useful things : but it is also as true that most of those which have not that relation, conduct or refer to those that have. They may appear unprofitable, as long as they do not derive from this real intellectual world ; but the mixed mathematics, which descend to matter, and consider the motions of the stars, the perfect knowledge of navigation, the art of drawing remote objects near by the assistance of telescopes, the increase of powers of motion, the nice exactitude of the balance, and other the like objects, become more easy of access, and in a manner familiarize themselves with the vulgar. The labour of Archimedes was long obscure, and perhaps contemned, because he confined himself to simple and barren speculations. Ought we therefore to conclude, that it was useless and unprofitable ? It was from that very source of knowledge, buried till then in obscurity, from which shot forth those living lights, and wonderful discoveries, which displayed

from their birth a sensible and manifest utility, and gave the Romans astonishment and despair when they besieged Syracuse.

Hiero was great and magnificent in all things, in building palaces, arsenals, and temples. He caused an infinite number of ships of all burdens to be built for the exportation of corn; a commerce, in which almost the whole wealth of the island consisted. * We are told of a galley built by his order, under the direction of Archimedes, which was reckoned one of the most famous structures of antiquity. It was a whole year in building. Hiero passed whole days among the workmen, to animate them by his presence.

This ship had 20 benches of oars. The enormous pile was fastened together on all sides with huge nails of copper, that weighed each 10 pounds and upwards.

The inside had in it three galleries or corridors, the lowest of which led to the hold by a descent of stairs, the second to apartments, and the first to soldiers' lodgings.

On the right and left side of the middle gallery there were to the number of 30 apartments; in each of which were four beds for men. The apartment for the officers and seamen had 15 beds, and three great rooms for eating; the last of which, that was at the poop, served for a kitchen. All the floors of these apartments were inlaid with small stories in different colours, taken from the *Iliad* of Homer. The ceilings, windows, and all the other parts, were finished with wonderful art, and embellished with all kinds of ornaments.

In the uppermost gallery there was a gymnasium, or place of exercise, and walks proportionate to the magnitude of the ship. In them were gardens and plants of all kinds, disposed in wonderful order. Pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all around to refresh them. There were also arbours of ivy and vines, that had their roots in great vessels filled with earth. These vessels were watered in the same manner as the gardens. The arbours served to shade the walks.

After these came the apartment of Venus with three beds. This was floored with agates and other precious stones, the finest that could be had in the island. The walls and roof were of cypress wood. The windows were adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In another apartment was a library, at the top of which, on the outside, was fixed a sundial.

There was also an apartment with three beds for a bath, in which were three great coppers, and a bathing vessel, made of a single stone, of various colours. This vessel contained 250 quarts. At the ship's head was a great reservoir of water, which held 100,000 quarts.

* Athen. l. iii. p. 286—290.

All round the ship on the outside were Atlases of six cubits, or nine feet, in height, which supported the sides of the ship : these Atlases were at equal distance from each other. The ship was adorned on all sides with paintings, and had eight towers proportioned to its bigness ; two at the head, two at the stern, and four in the middle, of equal dimensions. Upon these towers were parapets, from which stones might be discharged upon any ships of the enemy that should approach too near. Each tower was guarded by four young men completely armed, and two archers. The inside of them was filled with stones and arrows.

Upon the side of the vessel, well strengthened with planks, was a kind of rampart, on which was an engine to discharge stones, made by Archimedes : it threw a stone of 300 weight, and an arrow of 12 cubits (18 feet), the distance of a stadium, or 325 paces from it.

The ship had three masts, at each of which were two machines to discharge stones. There also were hooks and lumps of lead to throw upon such as approached. The whole ship was surrounded with a rampart of iron, to keep off those who should attempt to board it. All around were iron grapplings (*corvi*), which being thrown by machines, grappled the vessels of the enemy, and drew them close to the ship, from whence it was easy to destroy them. On each of the sides were 60 young men completely armed, and as many about the masts, and at the machines for throwing stones.

Though the hold of this ship was extremely deep, one man sufficed for clearing it of all water, with a machine made in nature of a screw, invented by Archimedes. An Athenian poet of that name made an epigram upon this superb vessel, for which he was well paid. Hiero sent him 1000 medimni of corn as a reward, and caused them to be carried to the port of Pyrazum, The medimnus, according to Father Mountfaucou, is a measure that contains six bushels. This epigram is come down to us. The value of verse was known at that time in Syracuse.

Hiero having found that there was no port in Sicily capable of containing this vessel, except some, where it could not lie at anchor without danger, resolved to make a present of it to king Ptolemy *, and sent it to Alexandria. There was at that time a great dearth of corn throughout all Egypt.

Several other vessels of less burden attended this great ship ; 300,000 quarters of corn were put on board them, with 10,000 great earthen jars of salted fish, 20,000 quintals (or 2,000,000 pounds) of salt meat, 20,000 bundles of different cloths, without including the provisions for the ships' crews and officers.

* There is reason to believe this was Ptolemy Philadelphus.

To avoid too much prolixity, I have retrenched some part of the description Athenæus has left us of this great ship.

I should have been glad that, to have given us a better idea of it, he had mentioned the exact dimensions of it. Had he added a word upon the benches of oars, it would have cleared up and determined a question, which, without it, must for ever remain doubtful and obscure.

Hiero's faith was put to a very severe trial, after the bloody defeat of the Romans in the battle of Cannæ, which was followed by an almost universal defection of their allies. But the wasting of his dominions by the Carthaginian troops, which their fleet had landed in Sicily, was not capable of changing him. † He was only afflicted to see that the contagion had spread even to his own family. He had a son named Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, by whom he had several children, and amongst others Hieronymus, of whom we shall soon speak. Gelon, despising his father's great age, and setting no value on the alliance of the Romans, after their last disgrace at Cannæ, had declared openly for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and solicited the allies of Syracuse to join him, and would ‡ perhaps have occasioned great troubles in Sicily, if a sudden and unexpected death had not intervened. It happened so opportunely that his father was suspected of having promoted it. He did not survive his son long, and died at the age of 90 years, infinitely regretted by his people, after having reigned 54 years.

ARTICLE II.

THE REIGN OF HIERONYMUS ; THE TROUBLES CONSEQUENTIAL OF IT ; AND THE SIEGE AND TAKING OF SYRACUSE.

SECTION I.

HIERONYMUS, GRANDSON OF HIERO, SUCCEEDS HIM.—
HE IS KILLED IN A CONSPIRACY.

THE death of Hiero occasioned great revolutions in Sicily. The kingdom was fallen into the hands of Hieronymus his grandson, a young * prince, incapable of making a wise use of his independency, and far from resisting the seducing impressions of sovereign power. Hiero's apprehensions, that the flourish-

† A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 30.

‡ Movissetque in Siciliæ, nisi mors, adeo opportuna ut patrem quoque suspicione adspiceret, armantem eum multitudinem, sollicitantemque focios, absumpsisset. Liv.

* Puerum, vix dum libertatem, nedum dominationem, modice laurum. Liv.

ing condition in which he left his kingdom, would soon change under an infant king, suggested to him the thought and desire of restoring their liberty to the Syracusans. But his two daughters opposed that design with their whole credit; from the hope that the young prince would have only the title of king, and that they should have all the authority, in conjunction with their husbands Andranadorus and Zoippus, who held the first rank among his guardians †. It was not easy for an old man of 90, to hold out against the caresses and arts of those two women, who besieged him day and night, to preserve the freedom of his mind against their pressing and assiduous insinuations, and to sacrifice with courage the interests of his family to those of the public.

To prevent as far as possible the evils he foresaw, he appointed him 15 guardians, who were to form his counsel; and earnestly desired them, at his death, never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to which he had inviolably adhered for 50 years, and to teach the young prince to tread in his steps, and to follow the principle in which he had been educated till then.

The king dying after these dispositions, the guardians he had appointed his grandson immediately summoned the assembly, presented the young prince to the people, and caused the will to be read. A small number of people, expressly placed to applaud it, clapped their hands, and raised acclamations of joy. All the rest, in a consternation equal to that of a family who had lately lost a good father, kept a mournful silence, which sufficiently expressed their grief for their loss, and their apprehension of what was to come. His funeral* was afterwards solemnised; and more honoured by the sorrow and tears of his subjects than the cares and regard of his relations for his memory.

Andranadorus's first care was to remove all the other guardians, by telling them roundly, the prince was of age to govern for himself.

He was at that time near 15 years old; so that Andranadorus, being the first to renounce the guardianship held by him in common with many colleagues, united in his own person all their power. The dispositions made by the wisest princes at their death, are often little regarded, and seldom executed afterwards.

† Non facile erat nonagesimum jam agenti annum, circumcesso diebus noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum, et convertere ad publicam privatam curam. Liv.

* Funus fit regium, magis amore civium et caritate, quam cura suorum celebre. Liv.

The† best and most moderate prince in the world, succeeding a king so well beloved by his subjects as Hiero had been, would have found it very difficult to console them for the loss they had sustained ; but Hieronymus, as if he had strove by his vices to make him still more regretted, no sooner ascended the throne, than he made the people sensible how much all things were altered. Neither king Hiero, nor Gelon his son, during so many years, had ever distinguished themselves from the other citizens by their habits, or any other ornaments intimating pride. Hieronymus was presently seen in a purple robe, with a diadem on his head, and surrounded by a troop of armed guards. Sometimes he affected to imitate Dionysius the tyrant, in coming out of his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses. All the† rest of his conduct was suitable to this equipage : a visible contempt for all the world, haughty and disdainful in hearing, and affectation of saying disobliging things ; so difficult of access, that not only strangers, but even his guardians, could scarce approach him ; a refinement of taste in discovering new methods of debauch ; a cruelty so excessive as to extinguish all sense of humanity in him. This odious disposition of the young king terrified the people to such a degree, that even some of his guardians, to escape his cruelty, either put themselves to death, or condemned themselves to voluntary banishment.

Only three men, Andranadorus and Zoippus, both Hiero's sons-in-law, and Thraso, had any freedom of access to the young king. He listened a little more to them than to others : but as the two first openly declared for the Carthaginians, and the latter for the Romans, that difference of sentiments, and very warm disputes frequently the consequence of it, drew upon them that prince's attention.

About this time a conspiracy against the life of Hieronymus happened to be discovered. One of the principal conspirators, named Theodotus, was accused. Being put to the question, he confessed the crime as to himself ; but all the violence of the most cruel torments could not make him betray his accomplices. At length, as if no longer able to support the pains inflicted on him, he accused the king's best friends, though innocent, among whom he named Thraso, as the ringleader of the whole enterprise ; adding, that they should never have engaged in it, if a

† *Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favour apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantæ caritati Hieronis. Verum enimvero Hieronymus, velut suis vitiis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu, omnia quam dispari esset ostendit. Liv.*

† *Hunc tam superbum apparatus habitumque convenientis sequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, asperba aures, contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus, non alienis modo sed tutoribus etiam ; libidines nava, inhumana crudelitas. Liv.*

man of his credit had not been at their head. The zeal he had always expressed for the Roman interests, rendered the evidence probable ; and he was accordingly put to death. Not one of the accomplices, during their companion's being tortured, either fled or concealed himself : so much they relied upon the fidelity of Theodotus, who had the fortitude to keep the secret inviolably.

The death of Thraso, who was the sole support of the alliance with the Romans, left the field open to the partizans of Carthage. Hieronymus dispatched ambassadors to Hannibal, who sent back a young Carthaginian officer of illustrious birth, named also Hannibal, with Hippocrates and Epicydes, natives of Carthage, but descended from the Syracusans by their father. After the treaty with Hieronymus was concluded, the young officer returned to his general ; the two others continued with the king, by Hannibal's permission. The conditions of the treaty were, that after having driven the Romans out of Sicily, of which they fully assured themselves, the river Himera, which almost divides the island, should be the boundary of their respective dominions. Hieronymus, blown up by the praises of his flatterers, demanded even, some time after, that all Sicily should be given up to him, leaving the Carthaginians Italy for their part. The proposal appeared idle and rash ; but Hannibal gave very little attention to it, having no other view at that time than of drawing off the young king from the party of the Romans.

Upon the first rumour of this treaty, Appius, prætor of Sicily, sent ambassadors to Hieronymus, to renew the alliance made by his grandfather with the Romans. That proud prince received them with great contempt ; asking them, with an air of raillery and insult, what had passed at the battle of Cannæ ; that Hannibal's ambassadors had related incredible things of it ; that it was easy to know the truth from their mouths, and thence to determine upon the choice of his allies. The Romans made answer, that they would return to him when he had learned to treat ambassadors seriously and with reason ; and, after having cautioned rather than desired him not to change sides too rashly, they withdrew.

At length his cruelty, and the other vices to which he blindly abandoned himself, drew upon him an unfortunate end. Those who had formed the conspiracy mentioned before, pursued their scheme ; and having found a favourable opportunity for the execution of their enterprise, killed him in the city of the Leontines, on a journey he made from Syracuse into their country.

Here is a sensible instance of the difference between a king and a tyrant ; and that it is not in guards or arms the security of a prince consists, but the affection of his subjects. Hiero,

from being convinced that those who have the laws in their hands for the government of the people, ought always to govern themselves by the laws, behaved in such a manner, that it might be said the law and not Hiero reigned. He believed himself rich and powerful, for no other end than to do good, and to render others happy. He had no occasion to take precautions for the security of his life: he had always the surest guard about him, the love of his people; and Syracuse was afraid of nothing so much as of losing him. Hence he was lamented at his death as the common father of his country. Not only their mouths but hearts were long after filled with his name, and incessantly blessed his memory. Hieronymus, on the contrary, who had no other rule of conduct but violence, regarded all other men as born solely for himself, and valued himself upon governing them, not as subjects but slaves, led the wretchedest life in the world, if to live were to pass his days in continual apprehension and terror. As he trusted nobody, nobody placed any confidence in him. Those who were nearest his person were the most exposed to his suspicions and cruelty, and thought they had no other security for their own lives than by putting an end to his. Thus ended a reign of short duration, but abounding with disorders, injustice, and oppression.

* Appius, who foresaw the consequence of his death, gave the senate advice of all that had passed, and took the necessary precautions to preserve that part of Sicily which belonged to the Romans. They, on their side, perceiving the war in Sicily was likely to become important, sent Marcellus thither, who had been appointed consul with Fabius, in the beginning of the fifth year of the second punic war, and had distinguished himself gloriously by his successes against Hannibal.

When Hieronymus was killed, the soldiers, less out of affection for him than a certain natural respect for their kings, had thoughts at first of avenging his death upon the conspirators. But the grateful name of the liberty with which they were flattered, and the hope that was given them of the division of the tyrant's treasures amongst them, and of additional pay, with the recital of his horrid crimes and shameful excesses, altogether appeased their first heat, and changed their disposition in such a manner, that they left the prince's body without interment, for whom they had just before expressed so warm a regret.

As soon as the death of Hieronymus was known at Syracuse, Andranodorus seized the isle, which was part of the city, with the citadel, and such other places as were most proper for his defence in it; putting good garrisons into them. Theodotus and Socis, heads of the conspiracy, having left their accomplices with the army, to keep the soldiers quiet, arrived soon after at the city. They made themselves masters of the quarter Achra-

dina, where, by shewing the tyrant's bloody robe, with his diadem, to the people, and exhorting them to take arms for the defence of their liberty, they soon saw themselves at the head of a numerous body.

The whole city was in confusion. The next day at sun-rise; all the people, armed and unarmed, ran to the quarter Achradina, where the senate was assembled, which had neither sat, nor been consulted upon any affair, from Hiero's death. Polzenus, one of the senators, spoke to the people with great freedom and moderation. He represented, "that having experienced the indignities and miseries of slavery, they were most sensibly affected with them; but as to the evils occasioned by civil discord, they would rather have heard them spoken of by their fathers, than been acquainted with them themselves; that he commended their readiness in taking arms, and should praise them still more if they did not proceed to use them till the last extremity; that at present it was his advice to send deputies to Andranadorus, and to let him know he must submit to the senate, open the gates of the isle, and withdraw his garrisons; that if he persisted in his usurpation, it would be necessary to treat him with more rigour than Hieronymus had experienced."

This deputation at first made some impression upon him; whether he still retained a respect for the senate, and was moved with the unanimous concurrence of the citizens; or because the best fortified part of the isle having been taken from him by treachery, and surrendered to the Syracusans, that loss gave him just apprehensions. But his wife Demarata, Hiero's daughter, an haughty and ambitious princess, having taken him aside, put him in mind of the famous saying of Dionysius the tyrant, "that it was never proper to quit the saddle, i. e. the tyranny, till pulled off the horse by the heels: that a great fortune might be renounced in a moment, but that it would cost abundance of time and pains to attain it: that it was therefore necessary to endeavour to gain time; and whilst he amused the senate with ambiguous answers, to treat privately with the soldiers at Leontium, whom it was easy to bring over to his interest, by the attraction of the king's treasures in his possession."

Andranadorus did not entirely reject this counsel, nor think proper to give into it without reserve. He chose a mean between both. He promised to submit to the senate, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity; and the next day, having thrown open the gates of the isle, repaired to the quarter Achradina; and there, after having excused his delay and resistance, from the fear he had been in of being involved in the tyrant's punishment,

* Sed evocatum eum ab legatis Demarata uxor, filia Hieronis, inflata adhuc regis animis ac muliebri spiritu, admonet sæpe usurpatæ Dionysii tyranni vocis: puz, pedibus tractum, non insidentem equo, relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere.

as his uncle, he declared, that he was come to put his person and interests into the hands of the senate. Then, turning towards the tyrant's murderers, and addressing himself to Theodotus and Sosis; "you have done," said he, "a memorable action. But, believe me, your glory is only begun, and has not yet attained the height of which it is capable. If you do not take care to establish peace and union among the citizens, the state is in great danger of expiring, and of being destroyed at the very moment she begins to taste the blessings of liberty."

After this discourse, he laid the keys of the isle and of the king's treasures at their feet. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occasion, and the temples were thronged during the rest of the day with infinite numbers of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for so happy a change of affairs.

The next day, the senate being assembled according to the ancient custom, magistrates were appointed, amongst the principal of whom Andranadorus was elected, with Theodotus and Sosis, and some others of the conspirators who were absent.

On the other side, Hippocrates and Epicydes, whom Hieronymus had sent at the head of 2000 men, to endeavour to excite troubles in the cities which continued to adhere to the Romans, seeing themselves, upon the news of the tyrant's death, abandoned by the soldiers under their command, returned to Syracuse, where they demanded to be escorted in safety to Hannibal, having no longer any business in Sicily after the death of him to whom they had been sent by that general. The Syracusans were not sorry to part with those two strangers, who were of a turbulent factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. There is in most affairs a decisive moment, which never returns after having been once let slip. The negligence in assigning the time for their departure gave them opportunity to insinuate themselves into the favour of the soldiers, who esteemed them upon account of their abilities, and to give them a disgust for the senate and the better inclined part of the citizens.

Andranadorus, whose wife's ambition would never let him rest, and who till then had covered his designs with smooth dissimulation, believing it a proper time for disclosing them, conspired with Themistus, Gelon's son-in-law, to seize the sovereignty. He communicated his views to a comedian named Ariston, from whom he kept nothing secret. That profession was not at all dishonourable among the Greeks, and was exercised by persons of no ignoble condition. Ariston, believing it his duty, as it really was, to sacrifice his friend to his country, discovered the conspiracy. Andranadorus and Themistus were immediately slain, by order of the other magistrates, as they entered the senate. The people rose, and threatened to revenge

their deaths, but were deterred from it, by the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators, which were thrown out of the senate-house. They were then informed of their pernicious designs ; to which all the misfortunes of Sicily were ascribed, rather than to the wickedness of Hieronymus, who being only a youth, had acted entirely by their counsels. They insinuated, that his guardians and tutors had reigned in his name : that they ought to have been cut off before Hieronymus, or at least with him : that impunity had carried them on to commit new crimes, and to aspire to the tyranny : that not being able to succeed in their design by force, they had used dissimulation and perfidy : that neither favours nor honours had been able to overcome the wicked disposition of Andranadorus ; nor the electing him one of the supreme magistrates amongst the deliverers of their country, him, who was the declared enemy of liberty ; that as to the rest, they had been inspired with their ambition of reigning by the princesses of the blood royal, whom they had married, the one Hiero's, the other Gelon's daughter.

At those words the whole assembly cried out that not one of them ought to be suffered to live, and that it was necessary to extirpate entirely the race of the tyrants, without any reserve or exception. * Such is the nature of the multitude. It either abjectly abandons itself to slavery, or lords it with insolence ; but with regard to liberty, which holds the mean betwixt those extremes, it neither knows how to be without it, or to use it ; and has always too many flatterers ready to enter into its passions, inflame its rage, and hurry it on to excessive violences, and the most inhuman cruelties, to which it is but too much inclined of itself, as was the case at that time. At the request of the magistrates, which was almost sooner accepted than proposed, they decreed that the royal family should be entirely destroyed.

Demarata, Hiero's, and Harmonia, Gelon's daughter ; the first married to Andranadorus, and the other to Themistus, were killed first. From thence they went to the house of Heracles, wife of Zoippus ; who having been sent on an embassy to Ptolemy king of Egypt, remained there in voluntary banishment, to avoid being witness of the miseries of his country. Having been apprised that they were coming to her, that unfortunate princess had taken refuge with her two daughters in the most remote part of her house, near her household gods. When the assassins arrived there, with her hair loose and disordered, her

* *Hæc natura multitudinis est : aut servit humiliter, aut superbe dominatur : libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere modice, nec habere sciunt. Et non ferre desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem et cadem trahant.* Liv.

face bathed in tears, and in a condition most proper to excite compassion, she conjured them, in a faltering voice, interrupted with sighs, in the name of Hiero her father, and Gelon her brother, "not to involve an innocent princess in the guilt and misfortunes of Hieronymus." She represented to them, "that her husband's banishment had been to her the sole fruit of that reign : that not having had any share in the fortunes and designs of her sister Demarata, she ought to have none in her punishment. Besides, what was there to fear either from her, in the forlorn condition and almost widowhood to which she was reduced, or from her daughters, unhappy orphans, without credit or support ? That if the royal family were become so odious to Syracuse, that it could not bear the sight of them, they might be banished to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their father." When she saw them inflexible to her remonstrances, forgetting herself, she implored them at least to save the lives of the princesses her daughters, both of an age to inspire the most inveterate and furious enemies with compassion : but her discourse made no impression upon the minds of those barbarians. Having torn her in a manner from the arms of her household gods, they stabbed her to death in the sight of her two daughters, and soon after cut their throats, already stained and covered with the blood of their mother. What was still more deplorable in their destiny was, that immediately after their death an order of the people came for sparing their lives.

From compassion, the people in a moment proceeded to rage and fury against those who had been so hasty in the execution, and had not left them time for reflection or repentance. They demanded that magistrates should be nominated in the room of Andranadorus and Themistus. They were a long time in suspense upon this choice. At length somebody in the crowd of the people happened to name Epicydes : another immediately mentioned Hippocrates. Those two persons were demanded with so much ardour by the multitude, which consisted of citizens and soldiers, that the senate could not prevent their being created.

The new magistrates did not immediately discover the design they had of reinstating Syracuse in the interests of Hannibal : but they had seen with pain the measures which had been taken before they were in office ; for, immediately after the re-establishment of liberty, ambassadors had been sent to Appius, to propose renewing the alliance broken by Hieronymus. He had referred them to Marcellus, who was lately arrived in Sicily, with an authority superior to his own. Marcellus, in his turn, sent deputies to the magistrates of Syracuse, to treat of peace.

Upon arriving there, they found the state of affairs much altered. Hippocrates and Epicydes, at first by secret practices,

and afterwards by open complaints, had inspired every body with great aversion to the Romans ; giving out, that designs were formed for putting Syracuse into their hands. The behaviour of Appius, who had approached the entrance of the port with his fleet, to encourage the party in the Roman interest, strengthened those suspicions and accusations so much, that the people ran tumultuously to prevent the Romans from landing, in case they should have that design.

In this trouble and confusion, it was thought proper to summon the assembly of the people. Opinions differed very much in it ; and the heat of debate giving reason to fear some sedition, Apollonides, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the conjuncture. He intimated, " that never city was nearer its destruction or preservation than Syracuse actually was at that time : that if they all with unanimous consent should join either the Romans or Carthaginians, their condition would be happy : that if they were divided, the war would neither be more warm nor more dangerous between the Romans and Carthaginians, than between the Syracusans themselves against each other ; as both parties must necessarily have, within the circumference of their own walls, their own troops, armies, and generals : that it was therefore absolutely requisite to make their agreement and union amongst themselves their sole care and application ; and that, to know which of the two alliances was to be preferred was now the most important question : that for the rest, the authority of Hiero, in his opinion, ought to carry against that of Hieronymus ; and that the amity of the Romans happily experienced for 50 years together, seemed preferable to that of the Carthaginians, upon which they should not much rely for the present, and with which they had as little reason to be satisfied with regard to the past. He added a last motive of no mean force, which was, that in declaring against the Romans they would have the war immediately upon their hands ; whereas, on the side of Carthage the danger was more remote."

The less passionate this discourse appeared, the more effect it had. It induced them to desire the opinion of the several bodies of the state ; and the principal officers of the troops, as well natives as foreigners were requested to confer together. The affair was long discussed with great warmth. At length, as it appeared that there was no present means for supporting the war against the Romans, a peace with them was resolved, and ambassadors sent to conclude it.

Some days after this resolution had been taken, the Leontines sent to demand aid of Syracuse for the defence of their frontiers. This deputation seemed to come very seasonably for discharging the city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and re-

moving their no less dangerous leaders : 4000 men were ordered to march under the command of Hippocrates, of whom they were glad to be rid, and who was not sorry himself for the occasion they gave him to embroil affairs ; for he no sooner arrived upon the frontier of the Roman province, than he plundered it, and cut in pieces a body of troops sent by Appius to its defence. Marcellus complained to the Syracusans of this act of hostility, and demanded that this stranger should be banished from Sicily with his brother Epicydes ; who having repaired about the same time to Leontium, had endeavoured to embroil the inhabitants with the people of Syracuse, by exhorting them to resume their liberty as well as the Syracusans. The city of the Leontines was dependent on Syracuse, but pretended at this time to throw off the yoke, and to act independently of the Syracusans, as an entirely free city. Hence, when the Syracusans sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the Romans, and to demand the expulsion of the two Carthaginian brothers, the Leontines replied, that they had not empowered the Syracusans to make peace for them with the Romans.

The deputies of Syracuse related to Marcellus this answer from the Leontines, who were no longer at the disposal of their city, and left him at liberty to declare war against them, without any infraction of the treaty made with them. He marched immediately to Leontium, and made himself master of it at the first attack. Hippocrates and Epicydes fled. All the deserters found in the place, to the number of 2000, were put to the sword ; but as soon as the city was taken, all the Leontines and other soldiers were spared, and even every thing taken from them was restored, except what was lost in the first tumult of a city carried by storm.

8000 troops, sent by the magistrates of Syracuse to the aid of Marcellus, met a man on their march, who gave them a false account of what had passed at the taking of Leontium ; exaggerating with artful malice the cruelty of the Romans, who, he falsely affirmed, had put all the inhabitants to the sword, as well as the troops sent thither by the Syracusans.

This artful falsehood, which they swallowed without suspicion, inspired them with compassion for their companions. They expressed their indignation by their murmurs. Hippocrates and Epicydes, who were before well known to these troops, appeared at the very instant of this trouble and tumult, and put themselves under their protection, not having any other resource. They were received with joy and acclamations. The report soon reached the rear of the army, where the commanders Dinomenes and Sosis were. When they were informed of the cause of the tumult, they advanced hastily, blamed the soldiers for having received Hippocrates and Epicydes, the enemies of their country, and gave orders for their being seized and bound.

The soldiers opposed this with great menaces ; and the two generals sent expresses to Syracuse, to inform the senate of what had passed.

The army however continued its march towards Megara, and upon the way met a courier prepared by Hippocrates, who was charged with a letter, which seemed to be written by the magistrates of Syracuse, to Marcellus. They praised him for the slaughter he had made at Leontium, and exhorted him to treat all the mercenary soldiers in the same manner, in order that Syracuse might at length be restored to its liberty. The reading of this forged letter enraged the mercenaries, of whom this body of troops was almost entirely composed. They were for falling upon the few Syracusans amongst them, but were prevented from that violence by Hippocrates and Epicydes ; not from motives of pity or humanity, but that they might not entirely lose their hopes of re-entering Syracuse. They sent a man thither, whom they had gained by bribes, who related the storming of Leontium conformable to the first account. Those reports were favourably received by the multitude, who cried out that the gates should be shut against the Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes arrived about the same time before the city, which they entered, partly by force, and partly by the intelligence they had within it. They killed the magistrates, and took possession of the city. The next day the slaves were set at liberty, the prisoners made free, and Hippocrates and Epicydes elected into the highest offices in a tumultuous assembly. Syracuse, in this manner, after a short irradiation of liberty, sunk again into its former slavery.

SECTION II.

MARCELLUS BESIEGES SYRACUSE.—THE DREADFUL
MACHINES OF ARCHIMEDES.—HE IS KILLED.

AFFAIRS being in this state, Marcellus thought proper to quit the country of the Leontines *, and advance towards Syracuse. When he was near it, he sent deputies to let the inhabitants know, that he came to restore liberty to the Syracusans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them ; and having heard their proposals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to besiege their city, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between attacking Syracuse and attacking Leontium. Marcellus therefore determined to besiege the place by sea and land † : by land, on the

* A. M. 3709. Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 33. 374. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305—307. Polyb. l. viii. p. 515—518.

† The description of Syracuse may be seen in Book VIII. Ch. ii. Sect. 1.
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side of Hexapyla ; and by sea, on that of the quarter Achradina, the walls of which were washed by the waves.

He gave Appius the command of the land forces, and reserved that of the fleet to himself. It consisted of 60 galleys of five benches of oars, which were full of soldiers, armed with bows, slings, and darts, to scour the walls. There were a great number of vessels, laden with all sorts of machines used in attacking places.

The Romans carrying on their attacks at two different places, Syracuse was in great consternation, apprehending that nothing could oppose so terrible a power, and such mighty efforts : and it had indeed been impossible to have resisted them, without the assistance of a single man, whose wonderful industry was every thing to the Syracusans : this was Archimedes. He had taken care to supply the walls with all things necessary to a good defence. As soon as his machines began to play on the land side, they discharged upon the infantry all sorts of darts, and stones of enormous weight, which flew with so much noise, force, and rapidity, that nothing could oppose their shock. They beat down and dashed to pieces all before them, and occasioned a terrible disorder in the ranks of the besiegers.

Marcellus succeeded no better on the side of the sea. Archimedes had disposed his machines in such a manner as to throw darts to any distance. Though the enemy lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible balistæ and catapultæ. When they overshot their mark, he had smaller, proportioned to the distance ; which put the Romans into such confusion as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

This was not the greatest danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and strong machines behind the walls, which suddenly letting fall vast beams, with an immense weight at the end of them, upon the ships, sunk them to the bottom. Beside this he caused an iron grapple to be let out by a chain ; the person who guided the machine, having caught hold of the head of a ship with this hook, by the means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up, and set upon its stern, and held so for some time ; then, by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pully, it was let fall again with its whole weight either on its head or side, and often entirely sunk. At other times the machines dragging the ship towards the shore by cords and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, dashed it to pieces against the points of the rocks which projected under the walls, and thereby destroyed all within it. Gallies frequently, seized and suspended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful sight to the spectators ; after which they were let fall into the sea, and sunk to the bottom, with all that were in them.

Marcellus had prepared, at great expence, machines called sambucæ, from their resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. He appointed eight galleys of five benches for that use, from which the oars were removed; from the one on the right, and from the other on the left side. These were joined together, two and two, on the sides without oars. This machine consisted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which when erect was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the sides of two galleys joined together, and extended considerably beyond their beaks; upon the masts of these vessels were affixed cords and pulleys. When it was to work, the cords were made fast to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the poop drew it up by the help of the pulleys; others at the head assisted in raising it with levers. The galleys afterwards being thrust forward to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the sambucæ was then let down, no doubt after the manner of a draw-bridge, upon which the besiegers passed to the walls of the place besieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. Whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a vast stone upon it that weighed 10 * quintals, then a second, and immediately after, a third; all which striking against it with dreadful force and noise, beat down and broke its support, and gave the galleys upon which it stood such a shock, that they parted from each other.

Marcellus almost discouraged, and at a loss what to do, retired as fast as possible with his galleys, and sent orders to his land-forces to do the same. He called also a council of war, in which it was resolved the next day, before sun-rise, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes by this means to shelter themselves from the machines, which, for want of a distance proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided against all contingences. He had prepared machines long before, as we have already observed, that carried to all distances a proportionate quantity of darts, and ends of beams, which being very short, required less time for preparing them, and in consequence were more frequently discharged. He had besides made small chasms or loop-holes in the walls at little distances, where he had placed † scorpions, which, not carrying far, wounded those who approached, without being perceived but by that effect.

When the Romans, according to their design, had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themselves very well covered,

* The quintal, which the Greeks called *ταλαντον*, was of several kinds, The least weighed 125 pounds; the largest more than 1200.

† The scorpions were machines in the nature of cross-bows, which the ancients used in discharging darts and stones.

they found themselves exposed either to an infinity of darts, or overwhelmed with stones, which fell directly upon their heads ; there being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no sooner removed than a new discharge of darts overtook them in their retreat ; so that they lost great numbers of men, and almost all their galleys were disabled or beat to pieces, without being able to revenge their loss in the least upon their enemies : for Archimedes had planted most of his machines in security behind the walls, and the Romans, says Plutarch, repulsed by an infinity of wounds without seeing the place or hand from which they came, seemed to fight in reality with the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loss what to do, and not knowing how to oppose the machines of Archimedes, could not, however, forbear pleasantries upon them. " Shall we persist," said he to his workmen and engineers, " in making war with this Briareus of a geometrician, who treats my galleys and sambucæ so rudely ? He infinitely exceeds the fabled giants with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and surprising discharges upon us." Marcellus had reason for referring to Archimedes only ; for the Syracusans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himself the soul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed ; for the city at that time made use of none, either defensive or offensive, but those of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length perceiving the Romans so much intimidated, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord or the least piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out that Archimedes was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them, he renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the siege into a blockade. The Romans conceived they had no other resource than to reduce the great number of people in the city by famine, in cutting off all provisions that might be brought to them either by sea or land. During the eight months in which they besieged the city, there were no kind of stratagems which they did not invent, nor any actions of valour left untried, almost to the assault, which they never dared to attempt more. So much force, upon some occasions, have a single man, and a single science, when rightly applied. Deprive Syracuse of only one old man, the great strength of the Roman arms must inevitably take the city : his sole presence arrests and disconcerts all their designs.

We here see, which I cannot repeat too often, how much interest princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, encouraging academies of science by honourable distinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoverish a state. I say nothing in this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes ; he was not indebted to them for the happiness of his genius,

and profound knowledge : I consider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometrician. What a loss had Syracuse sustained, if to have saved a small expence and pension, such a man had been abandoned to inaction and obscurity ! Hiero was far from such a conduct. He knew all the value of our geometrician ; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince, to understand that of other men. He placed it in honour ; he made it useful ; and did not stay till occasion or necessity obliged him to do so ; which would have been too late. By a wise foresight, the true character of a great prince and a great minister, in the very arms of peace, he provided all that was necessary for supporting a siege, and making war with success ; though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuse was allied in the strictest manner. Hence were seen to rise in an instant, as out of the earth, an incredible number of machines of every kind and size, the very sight of which were sufficient to strike armies with terror and confusion.

There is, amongst these machines, of which we can scarce conceive the effects, what might tempt us to call their reality in question, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, such, for instance, as Polybius, an almost contemporary author, who treated facts entirely recent, and such as were well known to all the world. But how can we refuse our consent to the united authority of Greek and Roman historians, in regard to circumstances of which whole armies were witnesses, in experiencing the effects, and which had so great an influence in the events of the war ? What passed in this siege of Syracuse shows how high the ancients had carried their genius and art in besieging and supporting sieges. Our artillery, which so perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if they have so much.

A burning glass is spoke of, by the means of which Archimedes is said to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. That must have been an extraordinary invention ; but as no ancient author mentions it, it is no doubt a modern tradition without any foundation. Burning glasses were known to antiquity, but not of that kind, which indeed seem impracticable.

† After Marcellus had resolved to confine himself to the blockade of Syracuse, he left Appius before the place with two-thirds of the army, advanced with the other into the island, and brought over some cities to the Roman interest.

At the same time Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians,

* In pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello.

HORAT.

And wise in peace, prepared the arms of war.

† A. M. 3791. Ant. J. C. 213. Liv. L. XLIV. n. 35, 36.

arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of reconquering it, and expelling the Romans.

Hippocrates left Syracuse with 10,000 foot and 500 horse to join him, and carry on the war in concert against Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two states appeared at the same time on the coast of Sicily; but that of the Carthaginians, seeing itself weaker than the other, was afraid to venture a battle, and soon sailed back to Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuse, with Appius, according to Polybius, when the year of his consulship expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates, in this year, which must have been the second year of the siege. And indeed, Livy has given us no account of this second year, because he had ascribed to the first what passed in the second; for it is highly improbable that nothing memorable happened in it. This is the conjecture of M. Crevier, professor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais, who published a new edition of Livy, with remarks, and with which I am convinced the public were well pleased. The first volume of this work contains a long preface, which is well worth the reading.

Marcellus therefore employed a great part of the second year of the siege in several expeditions into Sicily. In his return from Agrigentum, upon which he had made an ineffectual attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he defeated, and killed above 8000 men. This advantage kept those in their duty who had entertained thought of going over to the Carthaginians. After the gaining of this victory, he returned against Syracuse, and having dismissed Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the consulship, he put Crispinus into his place.

* In the beginning of the third campaign, Marcellus, almost absolutely despairing of being able to take Syracuse, either by force, because Archimedes continually opposed him with invincible obstacles, or famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before easily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he should continue before Syracuse to push the siege, or turn his endeavours against Agrigentum. But before he came to a final determination, he thought it proper to try whether he could make himself master of Syracuse, by some secret intelligence. There were many Syracusans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A slave of one of these secretly carried on an intrigue, in which 20 of the principal persons of the city engaged, who came in

* A. M. 3972. Aut. J. C. 212. Liv. l. 25, n. 23—31. Plut. in. Marcell. p. 308, 309.

companies to consult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fishermen. The conspiracy was upon the point of taking effect, when a person named Attalus, in resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered the whole to Epicydes, who put all the conspirators to death.

This enterprise having miscarried in this manner, Marcellus found himself in new difficulties. Nothing employed his thoughts, but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having consumed so much time, and sustained the loss of so many men and ships in it. An accident supplied him with a resource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman vessels had taken one Damippus, whom Epicydes had sent to negotiate with Philip king of Macedon. The Syracusans expressed a great desire to ransom this man, and Marcellus was not averse to it. A place near the port Trogilus was agreed on for the conferences concerning the ransom of the prisoner. As the deputies went thither several times, it came into a Roman soldier's thoughts to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones and examined with his eye the measure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall, he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded, that with ladders of a moderate size it might be easily scaled. Without loss of time he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wise man in an army; a private soldier may sometimes furnish him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and assured himself of its reality with his own eyes. Having caused ladders to be prepared, he took the opportunity of a festival that the Syracusans celebrated for three days, in honour of Diana; during which the inhabitants gave themselves up entirely to rejoicing and good cheer. At the time of night when he conceived that the Syracusans, after their debauch, began to grow drowsy and fall asleep, he made 1000 chosen troops, in profound silence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When they first got to the top, without noise or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. These 1000 soldiers, taking the advantage of the enemy's stillness, who were either drunk or asleep, soon scaled the wall. Having thrown down the great gate of Hexapylum, they took the quarter of the city called Epipolis.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but terrify the enemy. The Syracusans, awakened by the noise, began to rouse, and to prepare for action. Marcellus made all his trumpets to sound together, which so frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city in the possession of the enemy. The strongest and best part, however, called Achradina, was not yet taken, because separated by its walls from the rest of the city.

Marcellus at day-break entered * Villanova, or the new city, by the quarter called Tycha. Epicydes having immediately drawn up some troops, which he had in the isle adjoining to Achradina, marched against Marcellus; but finding him stronger and better attended than he expected, after a slight skirmish, he shut himself up in the quarter Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon his extraordinary success. For himself, when he had considered from an eminence the loftiness, beauty, and extent, of that city, he is said to have shed tears, and to have deplored the unhappy condition it was upon the point of experiencing. He called to mind the two powerful Atheinian fleets which had been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them: the many wars sustained with so much valour against the Carthaginians: the many famous tyrants and potent kings, Hiero particularly, whose memory was still recent, who had signalised himself by so many royal virtues, and still more by the important services he had rendered the Roman people, whose interests had always been as dear to him as his own. Moved by that reflection, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to send to the besieged, to exhort them to surrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonstrances and exhortations had no effect.

To prevent interruption by his rear, he then attacked a fort called Eurylaus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land side. After having carried it, he turned all his efforts against Achradina.

During these transactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The first, with the Sicilians, having placed and fortified his camp near the great gate, and given the signal to those who were in possession of Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus commanded: Epicydes at the same time made a sally upon the posts of Marcellus. Neither of these enterprises was successful. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him as far as his entrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicydes to shut himself up in Achradina. As it was then autumn, there happened a plague, which killed great numbers in the city, and still more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The distemper was not excessive at first, and proceeded only from the bad air and season: but afterwards the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, dispersed the contagion; from whence it happened, that some, neglected and absolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the malady, and others received help, which became fatal to those who brought it. Death, and the sight of such as were bu-

* The new city, or Neapolis, was called Epipolis; and in the latter times had been taken into the city, and surrounded with walls.

ried, continually presented a mournful object to the eyes of those who were living. Nothing was heard night and day but groans and lamentations. At length, the being accustomed to the evil had hardened their hearts to such a degree, and so far extinguished all sense of compassion in them, that they not only ceased to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be seen every where but dead bodies, exposed to the view of those who expected the same fate. The Carthaginians suffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almost all perished, with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the breaking out of the disease, had brought his soldiers into the city, where the roofs and shade was of great relief to them : he lost, however, no inconsiderable number of men.

Bomilcar, notwithstanding, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and had made a second voyage to Carthage to bring back a new supply, returned with 130 ships, and 700 transports. He was prevented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pachynus. Epicydes, who was afraid, that if those winds continued, this fleet might be discouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops, and went to Bomilcar, whom he persuaded to try the event of a naval battle. Marcellus, seeing the troops of the Sicilians increased every day, and that if he stayed and suffered himself to be shut up in Syracuse, he should be very much pressed at the same time both by sea and land, resolved, though not so strong in ships, to oppose the passage of the Carthaginian fleet. As soon as the high winds abated, Bomilcar stood to sea in order to double the cape, but when he saw the Roman ships advance towards him in good order, on a sudden (for what reason it is not said) he took to flight, sent orders to the transports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicydes who had been disappointed in such great hopes, and was apprehensive of returning into a city already half taken, made sail for Agrigentum, rather with a design to wait the event of the siege in that place, than to make any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuse, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after having sounded the dispositions of the besieged, to treat upon the conditions Syracuse should surrender. It was agreed with unanimity enough on both sides, that what had appertained to the kings should appertain to the Romans ; that the Sicilians should retain all the rest, with their laws and liberty. After these preliminaries, they demanded a conference with those Epicydes had charged with the government in his absence. They told them they had been sent by the army to Marcellus and the inhabitants of Syracuse, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as with-

out the city, might have the same fate, and that no separate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city, and to confer with their friends and relations; after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and giving them assurances that their lives would be safe, they persuaded them to begin, by removing the three governors Epicydes had left in his place; which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having assembled the people, they represented, "that for whatever miseries they had suffered till then, or
"should suffer from thenceforth, they ought not to accuse fortune, as it depended upon themselves alone to put an end to
"them: that if the Romans had undertaken the siege of Syracuse, it was out of affection, not enmity, to the Syracusans:
"that it was not till after they had been apprised of the oppressions they suffered from Hippocrates and Epicydes, those
"ambitious agents of Hannibal, and afterwards of Hieronymus, that they had taken arms and began the siege of the
"city, not to ruin it, but to destroy its tyrants: that as Hippocrates was dead, Epicydes no longer in Syracuse, his lieutenants slain, and the Carthaginians dispossessed of Sicily both
"by sea and land, what reason could the Romans now have for
"not inclining as much to preserve Syracuse, as if Hiero, the
"sole example of faith to them, were still alive? That neither
"the city nor the inhabitants had any thing to fear but from
"themselves, if they let slip the occasion of renewing their animosity with the Romans: that they never had so favourable an
"opportunity as the present, when they were just delivered
"from the violent government of their tyrants; and that the
"first use they ought to make of their liberty was to return to
"their duty."

This discourse was perfectly well received by every body. It was however judged proper to create new magistrates before the nomination of deputies; the latter of which were chosen out of the former. The deputy who spoke in their name, and who was instructed solely to use his utmost endeavours that Syracuse might not be destroyed, addressed himself to Marcellus to this effect: "it was not the people of Syracuse who first
"broke the alliance, and declared war against you, but Hieronymus, less criminal still to Rome than to his country: and
"afterwards, when the peace was restored by his death, it was
"not any Syracusan that infringed it, but the tyrant's instruments, Hippocrates and Epicydes. They were the enemies
"who have made war against you, after having made us slaves,
"either by violence, or fraud and perfidy; and it cannot be said
"that we have had any times of liberty that have not also been
"times of peace with you. At present, as soon as we become
"masters of ourselves, by the death of those who held Sicily in

"subjection, we came the very instant to deliver up to you our arms, our persons, our walls, and our city, determined not to refuse any conditions you shall think fit to impose. For the rest," continued he, addressing himself always to Marcellus, "your interest is as much concerned as ours. The gods have granted you the glory of having taken the finest and most illustrious city possessed by the Greeks. All we have ever achieved of memorable, either by sea or land, augments and adorns your triumph. Fame is not a sufficiently faithful chronicle to make known the greatness and strength of the city you have taken; posterity can only judge of them by its own eyes. It is necessary that we should shew to all travellers, from whatever part of the universe they come, sometimes the trophies we have obtained from the Athenians and Carthaginians, and sometimes those you have acquired from us; and that Syracuse, thus placed for ever under the protection of Marcellus, may be a lasting, an eternal monument of the valour and clemency of him who took and preserved it. It is unjust that the remembrance of Hieronymus should have more weight with you than that of Hiero. The latter was much longer your friend than the former your enemy. Permit me to say you have experienced the amity of Hiero; but the senseless enterprises of Hieronymus have fallen solely upon his own head."

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from Marcellus, but to preserve tranquillity and union amongst those in the city. The deserters, convinced that they should be delivered up to the Romans, inspired the foreign soldiers with the same fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, whilst the deputies were still in the camp of Marcellus, they began by cutting the throats of the magistrates newly elected; and dispersing themselves on all sides, they put all to the sword they met, and plundered whatever fell in their way. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed six officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the isle. The tumult being at length appeased, the foreign troops were informed from all hands, it was concluded with the Romans that their cause should be entirely distinct from that of the deserters. At the same instant the deputies sent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Amongst those who commanded in Syracuse, there was a Spaniard named Mericus; him means was found to corrupt. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethusa to soldiers sent by Marcellus in the night to take possession of it. At day-break the next morning, Marcellus made a false attack at Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel and the isle adjoining to it, to that side, and to facilitate the throwing some troops into the isle, which would be unguarded, by some vessels he had

prepared. Every thing succeeded according to his plan. The soldiers, whom those vessels had landed in the isle, finding almost all the posts abandoned, and the gates by which the garrison of the citadel had marched out against Marcellus still open, they took possession of them after a slight encounter. Marcellus having received advice that he was master of the isle and of part of Achradina, and that Mericus, with the body under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that the treasures of the kings might not be plundered. They did not rise so high in their amount as was imagined.

The deserters having escaped (a passage being expressly left open for them), the Syracusans opened all their gates to Marcellus, and sent deputies to him with instructions to demand nothing further from him than the preservation of the lives of themselves and their children. Marcellus having assembled his council, and some Syracusans who were in his camp, gave his answer to the deputies in their presence: "that Hiero, for 50
" years, had not done the Roman people more good than those
" who had been masters of Syracuse some years past, had intended to do them harm; but that their ill-will had fallen
" upon their own heads, and they had punished themselves for
" their violation of treaties in a more severe manner than the
" Romans could have desired: that he had besieged Syracuse
" during three years; not that the Roman people might reduce it to slavery, but to prevent the chiefs of the revolters
" from continuing it under oppression: that he had undergone
" many fatigues and dangers in so long a siege; but that he
" thought he had made himself ample amends by the glory of
" having taken that city, and the satisfaction of having saved
" it from the entire ruin it seemed to deserve." After having placed a guard upon the treasury, and safeguards in the houses of the Syracusans who had withdrawn to his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered by the troops. It is reported, that the riches which were pillaged in Syracuse at this time, exceeded all that could have been expected at the taking of Carthage itself.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus, and gave him a very sensible affliction. Archimedes, at a time when all things were in this confusion at Syracuse, shut up in his closet like a man of another world, who had no regard for what passed in this, was intent upon the study of some geometrical figure, and not only his eyes, but the whole faculties of his soul were so engaged in this contemplation, that he had neither heard the tumult of the Romans, universally busy in plundering, nor the report of the city's being taken. A soldier on a sudden comes in upon him, and bids him follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes desired him to stay a moment, till he had solved his problem, and finished the demonstration of it. The soldier,

who regarded neither his problem nor demonstration, enraged at this delay, drew his sword and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly affected when he heard the news of his death. Not being able to restore him to life, of which he would have been very glad, he applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after all his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. As for Archimedes, he caused his funeral to be celebrated in the most solemn manner, and erected him a monument amongst the great persons who had distinguished themselves most at Syracuse.

ARTICLE III.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY ON SYRACUSE.

SECTION I.

TOMB OF ARCHIMEDES DISCOVERED BY CICERO.

ARCHIMEDES, by his will, had desired his relations and friends to put no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, but a cylinder, circumscribed by a sphere; that is to say, a globe or spherical figure; and to set down at the bottom the relation those two solids, the containing and the contained, have to each other. He might have filled up the bases of the columns of his tomb with relieves, whereon the whole history of the siege of Syracuse might have been carved, and himself appeared like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans: but he set an infinitely higher value upon a discovery, a geometrical demonstration, than upon all the so much celebrated machines of his invention.

Hence he chose rather to do himself honour with posterity, by the discovery he had made of the relation of a sphere to a cylinder of the same base and height, which is as two to three.

The Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man who had done so much honour to their city. Less than 140 years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithstanding the great services he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuse. It is from Cicero we have this circumstance.

* At the time he was quæstor in Sicily, his curiosity induced him to make a search after the tomb of Archimedes; a curiosity that became a man of Cicero's genius, and which merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracusans assured him that his

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. I. v. n. 64, 66.

search would be to no purpose, and that there was no such monument amongst them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only served to increase his desire of making that discovery. At length, after several fruitless attempts, he perceived, without the gate of the city, facing Agrigentum, amongst a great number of tombs in that place, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those who have any taste for antiquities may easily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occasion. He cried out, "that he * found what he looked for." The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, when they saw the inscription still legible, though part of the lines were obliterated by time : † so that, says Cicero, in concluding his account, the greatest city of Greece, and the most flourishing of old in the studies of science, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man, born in a country it considered almost as barbarous, had not discovered for it the tomb of its citizen, so highly distinguished by force and penetration of mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account : but we cannot easily pardon him the contemptuous manner in which he speaks at first of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where, intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionysius the tyrant, with the felicity of one passed in sober virtue, and abounding with wisdom, he says ‡ : " I will not compare the lives of a Plato or an Architas, persons of consummate learning and wisdom, with that of Dionysius, the most horrid, the most miserable, and the most detestable that can be imagined. I shall have recourse to a man of his own city, a little obscure person, who lived many years after him. I shall produce him from his § dust, and bring him upon the stage with his rule and compasses in his hand." Not to mention the birth of Archimedes, whose greatness was of a different class, the greatest geometrician of antiquity, whose sublime discoveries have in all ages been the admiration of the learned, should Cicero have treated this man as little and obscure, as a common artificer employed in making machines ! unless it be, perhaps, because the Romans, with whom a taste for geometry and such speculative sciences never gained much ground, esteemed nothing great but what related to government and policy.

* *Eureka* in verb. Archim.

† Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissima, fuit civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didici.

‡ Non ergo jam cum hujus vita, qua tetrius, miserius, detestabilius excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Architæ vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum et plane sapientum. Ex eadem urbe humilem homuncionem a pulvere et radio excitabo, qui multis annis post fuit, Archimedes.

§ He means the dust used by geometricians.

Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus,
 Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent :
 Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento. VIRGIL. *Æn.* 6.

Let others better mould the running mass
 Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,
 And soften into flesh a marble face ;
 Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,
 And when the stars descend and when they rise ;
 But Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful sway
 To rule mankind, and make the world obey ;
 Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way. DRYDEN.

* This is the Abbe Braguiet's reflection on the short dissertation he has left us upon this passage of Cicero.

SECTION II.

SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF SYRACUSE.

THE island of Sicily, with the greatest part of Italy, extending between the two seas, composed what was called *Græcia Major*, in opposition to Greece properly so called, which had peopled all those countries by its colonies.

Syracuse was the most considerable city of Sicily, and one of the most powerful of all Greece. * It was founded by Architas the Corinthian, in the third year of the 17th Olympiad.

The two first ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore we are silent upon them. It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furnishes in the sequel many great events, for the space of more than 200 years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government ; till Syracuse is at length subjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

I have treated all these events, except the last, in the order of time. But as they are cut into different sections, and dispersed in different books, we thought proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their series and connections might be more evident, from their being shewn together and in general, and the places pointed out where they are treated with due extent.

† Gelon. The Carthaginians, in concert with Xerxes, having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, whilst that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greece, Gelon, who had made himself master of Syracuse, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylae. Hamilcar, their general, was killed in this battle. Historians speak differently of his death, which has occasioned

* *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*, vol. II.

† A. M. 3295.

† A. M. 3520.

my falling into a contradiction ; for on one side I suppose, with † Diodorus Siculus, that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle ; and on the other I say, after Herodotus, that to avoid the shame of surviving his defeat, he threw himself into the pile in which he had sacrificed human victims.

§ Gelon, upon returning from his victory, repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was chosen king unanimously. He reigned five or six years, solely employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. Book II. part ii.—Book VII. ch. ii. sect. 1..

|| Hiero I. Hiero, the eldest of Gelon's brothers, succeeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praise. Simonides and Pindar celebrated him in emulation of each other. The latter part of it did not answer the former. He reigned eleven years. Book VII. ch. ii. sect. 2d. div.

* Thrasibulus. Thrasibulus his brother succeeded him. He rendered himself odious to all his subjects by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him the throne and city, after a reign of one year. B. VII. ch. ii. sect. 1. 3d division.

Times of Liberty.

† After his expulsion, Syracuse and all Sicily enjoyed their liberty for the space of almost 60 years.

An annual festival was instituted to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-established.

Syracuse attacked by the Athenians.

†† During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their arms against Syracuse ; this was in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be seen Book VIII. ch. iii. end of sect. 6.

¶ Dionysius the elder. The reign of this prince is famous for its length of 38 years, and still more for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. B. II. part i. ch. 1.—B. I. part ii. ch. 1.

** Dionysius the younger. Dionysius son of the elder Dionysius, succeeded him. He contracts a particular intimacy with Plato, and has frequent conversations with him ; who comes to his court at the request of Dion, the near relation of Dionysius. He did not long improve from the wise precepts of that philosopher, and soon abandoned himself to all the vices and excesses which attend tyranny.

† In the history of the Carthaginians.

§ A. M. 3525.

|| A. M. 3532.

* A. M. 3543.

† A. M. 3544.

†† A. M. 3598.

¶ A. M. 3958.

** A. M. 3632.

** Besieged by Dion, he escapes from Sicily, and retires into Italy.

†† Dion's excellent qualities. He is assassinated in his own house by Callippus.

‡‡ Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, expels Callippus, and establishes himself in Syracuse. During the two years of his reign Sicily is agitated by great commotions.

* Dionysius the younger, taking advantage of these troubles reascends the throne ten years after having quitted it.

† At last, reduced by Timoleon, he retires to Corinth. Book II. part iii. ch. 1.—B. XI. sect. 5.

Times of Liberty.

‡ TIMOLEON restores liberty to Syracuse. He passes the rest of his life there in a glorious retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and strangers. B. XI. ch. ii. sect. 6.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration.

§ Agathocles. Agathocles, in a short time, makes himself tyrant of Syracuse. B. II. part ii. ch. 1. near the end.

He commits unparalleled cruelties.

He forms one of the boldest designs related in history; carries the war into Africa; makes himself master of the strongest places, and ravages the whole country.

After various events, he perishes miserably. He reigned about 28 years.

Times of Liberty.

|| SYRACUSE took new life again for some time, and tasted with joy the sweets of liberty.

But she suffered much from the Carthaginians, who disturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid success of his arms at first gave him great hopes, which soon vanished. Pyrrhus by a sudden retreat, plunged the Syracusans into new misfortunes. B. I. part ii. ch. 2. near the end. B. XVI. sect. 7.

Hiero II. They were not happy and in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II. which was very long, and almost always pacific.

Hieronimus. He scarce reigned one year. His death was followed with great troubles, and the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus.

After that period, what passed in Sicily, to its total reduction, is little remarkable. There were still some remains of

** A. M. 3624.

†† A. M. 3646.

‡‡ A. M. 3647.

* A. M. 3654.

† A. M. 3657.

§ A. M. 3658.

§ A. M. 3686.

|| A. M. 3713.

H 2

war fomented in it by the partisans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who supported them : but those wars had no consequence, and Rome was soon absolute mistress of all Sicily. Half the island had been a Roman province from the treaty which put an end to the first punic war. By that treaty Sicily was divided into two parts; the one continued in the possession of the Romans, and the other under the government of Hiero ; which last part, after the surrender of Syracuse, fell also into their hands.

SECTION III.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE GOVERNMENT AND CHARACTER OF THE SYRACUSANS, AND UPON ARCHIMEDES.

By the taking of Syracuse all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire ; but it was not treated as the Spaniards and Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was imposed as the reward of the victory, and punishment of the vanquished. *Quasi victoria premium, ac pena belli.* Sicily, in submitting to the Roman people *, retained all her ancient rights and customs, and obeyed them upon the same conditions she had obeyed her kings. And she certainly well deserved that privilege and distinction. She † was the first of all the foreign nations that entered into alliance and amity with the Romans ; the first conquest their arms had the glory to make out of Italy ; and the first country that had given them the graceful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greatest part of the Sicilian cities had expressed an unexampled attachment, fidelity, and affection for the Romans. The island was afterwards a kind of pass for their troops into Africa ; and Rome would not so easily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not served it as a magazine, abounding with provisions, and a secure retreat for their fleets. Hence, after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himself obliged

* Sicilæ civitates sic in amicitiam recepit, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent : eadem conditione populo R. paterent, quæ suis antea paruisent. Cic.

† Omnium nationum exteriarum princeps Sicilia se ad amicitiam fidemque populi R. applicuit ; prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata : prima docuit majores nostros, quam præclarum esset exteris gentibus imperare. Itaque majoribus nostris in Africam ex hac provincia gradus imperii factus est. Neque enim tam facile opes Carthaginis tantæ concidissent, nisi illud, et rei frumentariæ subsidium, et receptaculum classibus nostris pateret. Quare P. Africanus, Carthaginæ deletæ, Siculorum urbes signis monumentisque pulcherrimis exornavit ; ut, quos victoria populi R. lætari arbitrabatur, apud eos monumenta victoriæ plurima collocaret. Cic. Ver. 2. n. 2, 3.

to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious statues, in order that a people who were so highly satisfied with the success of the Roman arms, might be sensible of its effects, and retain illustrious monuments of their victories amongst them.

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if they had always given her such magistrates as Cicero, knowing like him the obligations of his functions, and like him intent upon the due discharge of it. It is highly pleasing to hear him explain himself upon this subject ; which he does in his defence of Sicily against Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witnesses of the sincerity of what he is going to expose, he says : " in all the employ-
ments with which the Roman people have honoured me to
this day, I have ever thought myself obliged, by the most
sacred ties of religion, worthily to discharge the duties of
them. When I was made quæstor, I looked upon that dig-
nity not as a gratuity conferred upon me for my particular
use, but as a deposit confided to my vigilance and fidelity.
When I was afterwards sent to act in that office, I thought
all eyes were turned upon me, and that my person and admi-
nistration were in a manner exhibited as a spectacle to the
view of all the world ; and in this thought I not only denied
myself all pleasures of an extraordinary kind, but even those
that are authorised by nature and necessity. I am now in-
tended for Ædile. I call the gods to witness, that how ho-
nourable soever this dignity seems to me, I have too just a
sense of its weight not to have more solicitude and disquiet
than joy and pleasure from it ; so much I desire to make it ap-
pear, that it was not bestowed on me by chance, or the neces-
sity of being filled up, but confided deservedly by the choice
and discernment of my country."

All the Roman governors were far from being of this cha-

*O dii immortales—Ita mihi meam voluntatem spemque reliquæ
vitæ vestræ populique R. existimatio comprobet, ut ego quos adhuc
mihi magistratus populus R. mandavit, sic eos accepi, ut me omnium
officiorum obstringi religione arbitraret. Ita quæstor sum factus, ut
mihi honorem illum non tam datum quam creditum ac commissum pu-
tarem. Sic obtinui quæsturam in provincia, ut omnium oculos in me u-
num conjectos arbitrarem : ut me quæsturamque meam quasi in aliquo
orbis terræ theatro versari existimarem ; ut omnia semper, quæ jucunda
videntur esse, non modo his extraordinariis cupiditabus, sed etiam ipsi
naturæ ac necessitati denegarem. Nunc sum designatus Ædilis—
Ita mihi deos omnes propitios esse velum, ut tametsi mihi jucundissi-
mus est honos populi, tamen nequaquam tantum capio voluptatis, quan-
tum sollicitudinis et laboris, ut hæc ipsa ædilitas, non quia necesse fuit
alicui candidato dara, sed quia sic oportuerit recte collocata, et judicio
populi digno in loco posita esse videatur. Cic. Verr. 7. 35—37.*

rafter; and Sicily, above all other provinces, experienced (as Cicero some lines after reproaches Verres,) that they were almost all of them like so many tyrants, who believed themselves only attended by the fasces and axes, and invested with the authority of the Roman empire, to exercise in their province an open robbery of the public with impunity, and to break through all the barriers of justice and shame in such a manner, that no man's estate, life, house, or even honour, were safe from their violence.

Syracuse, from all we have seen of it, ought to appear like a theatre, on which many different and surprising scenes have been exhibited; or rather like a sea, sometimes calm and untroubled, but oftener violently agitated by winds and storms, always ready to overwhelm it entirely. We have seen in no other republic, such sudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions: sometimes enslaved by the most cruel tyrants; at others, under the government of the wisest kings; sometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a populace, without either government or restriction; sometimes perfectly docile and submissive to the authority of law and the empire of reason; it passed alternately from the most insupportable slavery to the most grateful liberty; from a kind of convulsions and frantic emotions, to a wise, peaceable, and regular conduct. The reader will easily call to mind, on the one side, Dionysius the father and son, Agathocles and Hieronymus, whose cruelties made them the objects of the public hatred and detestation; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, and the two Hieros, ancient and modern, universally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are such opposite extremes and vicissitudes so contrary to be attributed? Undoubtedly, I think, the levity and inconstancy of the Syracusans, which was their distinguishing characteristic, had a great share in them: but what I am convinced conducted the most to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of the aristocratic and democratic, that is to say, divided between the senate, or elders, and the people. As there was no counterpoise in Syracuse to support a right balance between those two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one side or the other, the government presently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny, or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The sudden confusion at such times of all orders of the state, made the way

* Nunquam tibi venit in mentem, non tibi idcirco fasces et securæ, et tantam imperii vim, tantamque ornamentorum omnium dignitatem datam; et earum rerum vi et auctoritate omnia renacula juris, pudoris, et officii perfringeres; ut omnium bona prædam tuam duceres; nullius res tuta, nullius domus clausa, nullius vita septa, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem et audaciam posset esse. Cic. Ver. l. 33.

to the sovereign power easy to the most ambitious of the citizens. To attract the affection of their country, and soften the yoke to their fellow-citizens, some exercised that power with lenity, wisdom, equity, and popular behaviour; and others, by nature less virtuously inclined, carried it to the last excess of the most absolute and cruel despotism, under pretext of supporting themselves against the attempts of their citizens, who, jealous of their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

There were besides other reasons that rendered the government of Syracuse difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the signal victories it had obtained against the formidable power of Africa, and that it had carried its victorious arms and terror even to the walls of Carthage; and that not once only, as afterwards against the Athenians, but during several ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops suggested of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, occasioned its pretending to equal Athens in that respect, or at least to divide the empire of the sea with that state.

Besides which, riches, the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracusans proud, haughty, and imperious, and at the same time had plunged them into a sloth and luxury that inspired them with a disgust for all fatigue and application. They generally abandoned themselves blindly to their orators, who had acquired an absolute ascendant over them. In order to make them obey, it was necessary either to flatter or reproach them.

They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity, and good nature; and yet, when influenced by the seditious discourses of the orators, they would proceed to excessive violence and cruelties, which they immediately after repented.

When they were left to themselves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, soon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and I might say, even phrenzy. On the contrary, when they were subjected to the yoke, they became base, timorous, submissive, and creeping like slaves. But as this condition was violent, and directly contrary to the character and disposition of the Greek nation, born and nurtured in liberty, the sense of which was not wholly extinguished in them, and only lulled a sleep, they waked from time to time from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made use of them, if I may be admitted to use the expression, to beat down and destroy the unjust masters who had imposed them.

With a small attention to the whole series of the history of the Syracusans, it may easily be perceived, as Galba afterwards

and brother to death; and the sequel answered but too well to such a beginning of it. † Nothing is said of the first years of his reign, except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having surrendered, and put him into possession of Phrygia, it was soon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave birth to his enmity for them.

‡ Ariarathes king of Cappadocia being dead, Mithridates caused the two sons he had left behind him to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own sister, and placed one of his own sons, at that time very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who apprehended this increase of power would put Mithridates into a condition to possess himself also of his dominions in time, thought proper to set up a certain young man, who seemed very fit for such a part, as a third son of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice, whom he had espoused after the death of her first husband, to acknowledge him as such; and sent her to Rome, to assist and support by her presence the claim of this pretended son, whom she carried thither along with her. The cause being brought before the senate, both parties were condemned, and a decree passed by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they said they could not be without a king. The senate permitted them to choose whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor, was charged with the commission of establishing him upon the throne. That was the pretext for this expedition; but the real motive of it was, to check the enterprises of Mithridates, whose power daily augmenting, gave umbrage to the Romans. § Sylla executed his commission the following year; and after having defeated a great number of Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and set Ariobarzanes in his place.

Whilst Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Persian, named Orobazus, arrived at his camp from king Arsaces, || to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla received him at his audience, caused three seats to be placed in his tent; one for Ariobarzanes, who was present; another for Orobazus; and that in the midst for himself. The Parthian king afterwards, offended at his deputy for having acquiesced in this instance of the Roman pride, caused him to be put to death. This is the first time the Parthians had any commerce with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppose the establish-

† Appian in Mithrid. p. 177, 178.

‡ A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91.

§ A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.

|| This was Mithridates II.

ment of Ariobarzanes ; but dissembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him, he resolved to take an opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean while he applied himself in cultivating good alliances for the augmentation of his strength, and began with Tigranes king of Armenia, a very powerful prince. * Armenia had at first appertained to the Persians ; it came under the Macedonians afterwards ; and upon the death of Alexander made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the Great, two of his generals, Artaxius and Zadriadres, with that prince's permission, established themselves in this province, of which it is probable they were before governors. After the defeat of Antiochus they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts. Tigranes, of whom we now speak, descended from Artaxius. He possessed himself of all Armenia, subjected several neighbouring countries by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter so far into his project against the Romans, that they agreed Mithridates should have the cities and countries they should conquer for his share, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

† The first enterprise and act of hostility was committed by Tigranes, who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into possession, and re-established Ariarathes the son of Mithridates in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happened to die about this time : his eldest son, called also Nicomedes, ought naturally to have succeeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king ; but Mithridates set up his younger brother Socrates against him, who deprived him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who decreed their re-establishment, and sent Manius Aquilius and M. Altinius to put that decree in execution.

They were both reinstated. The Romans advised them to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates, promising them their support ; but neither the one nor the other dared to attack so powerful a prince so near home. At length, however, Nicomedes, at the joint instances of the ambassadors, to whom he had promised great sums for his re-establishment, and of his creditors, Roman citizens settled in Asia, who had lent him very considerably for the same effects, could not longer resist their solicitations. He made incursions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the flat country as far as the city Amastris, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied in discharging part of his debts.

* Strab. l. 11. p. 531, 532.
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† A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89.

Mithridates was not ignorant by whose advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might easily have repulsed him, having a great number of good troops on foot ; but he did not take the field. He was glad to place the wrong on the side of the Romans, and to have a just cause for declaring war against them. He began by making remonstrances to their generals and ambassadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embassy. He complained of the various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance subsisting between them and Mithridates, and in particular, of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes his declared enemy. The ambassadors of the latter replied with complaints on their side of Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling to declare themselves openly at present, gave them an answer in loose and general terms, that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes should injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not satisfied with this answer, made his troops march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and set his son Ariarathes upon the throne, as he had done before. At the same time, he sent his ambassadors to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to complain of them again. Pelopidas declared to them that his master was contented the Roman people should judge in the affair, and added, that he had already sent his ambassadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to undertake any thing till they had received the senate's orders, nor engage rashly in a war that might be attended with fatal consequences. For the rest, he gave them to understand, that Mithridates, in case justice were refused him, was in a condition to right himself. The Romans, highly offended at so haughty a declaration, made answer, that Mithridates had orders immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and not continue to disturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not return, unless his master obeyed. The other ambassadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable ; and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the senate and people arrived ; which was what Mithridates had demanded. The design he had long formed of declaring war against the Romans, had occasioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his interests. Twenty-two languages, of as many different people, were reckoned among his troops, all which Mithridates himself spoke with facility. His army consisted of 250,000 foot, and 4000 horse ; without including 130 armed chariots, and a fleet of 400 ships.

* Before he proceeded to action, he thought it necessary

to prepare his troops for it, and made them a long † discourse to animate them against the Romans. He represented to them, that there was no room for examining whether war or peace were to be preferred : that the Romans, by attacking them first, had spared them that inquiry : that their business was to fight and conquer : that he assured himself of success, if the troops persisted to act with the same valour they had already shown upon so many occasions, and lately against the same enemies, whom they had put to flight and cut to pieces in Bithynia and Cappadocia ; that there could not be a more favourable opportunity than the present, when the Masi infested and ravaged the heart of Italy itself, when Rome was torn in pieces by civil wars, and an innumerable army of the Cimbri from Germany over-ran all Italy : that the time was come for humbling those proud republicans, who had the same view with regard to the royal dignity, and had sworn to pull down all the thrones of the universe : that for the rest†, the war his soldiers were now entering upon, was highly different from what they had sustained with so much valour in the horrid deserts and frozen regions of Scythia : that he should lead them into the most fruitful and temperate country in the world, abounding with rich and opulent cities, which seemed to offer themselves an easy prey : that Asia, abandoned to be devoured by the insatiable avarice of the proconsuls, the inexorable cruelties of tax-farmers, and the crying injustice of corrupt judges, had the name of Roman in horror, and impatiently expected them as her deliverers : that they followed him not so much to a war, as to assured victory and certain spoils." The army answered this discourse with universal shouts of joy, and reiterated protestations of service and fidelity.

The Romans had formed three armies out of their troops in the several parts of Asia Minor. The first was commanded by

† I have abridged this discourse extremely, which Justin repeats at length, as it stood in Trogus Pompeius, of whom he is only the epitomiser. The discourse is a specimen of that excellent historian's style and ought to make us very much regret the loss of his writings.

† Nunc se diversam belli conditionem ingredi. Nam neque cælo Asiæ esse temperatius aliud, nec solo fertilius, nec urbium multitudo amœnius ; magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, sed ut festam diem, acturos, bello dubium facili magis an uberi—tantumque se avidam expectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet ; adeo illis odium Romanorum incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium. Justin.—Sectio publicanorum, " in this passage properly signifies the forcible sale of the goods of those, who for default of payment of taxes and imposts, had their estates and effects seized on and sold by the publicans." Calumniæ litum, " are the unjust quirks and chicanery, which served as pretext for depriving the rich of their estates, either upon account of taxes, or under some other colour."

Cassius, who had the government of the province of Pergamus; the second by Manius Aquilius; the third by Q. Oppius proconsul, in the province of Pamphylia. Each of them had 40,000 men, including the cavalry. Besides these troops, Nicomedes had 50,000 foot, and 6000 horse. They began the war, as I have already observed, without waiting orders from Rome, and carried it on with so much negligence, and so little conduct, that they were all three defeated on different occasions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themselves were taken prisoners, and treated with all kinds of insults. Mithridates, considering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the highest indignities. He made him pass in review before the troops, and presented him as a sight to the people, mounted on an ass, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands fastened by a chain to a horse, that drew him along. At last he made him swallow molten lead, and put him to death with the most exquisite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherously delivered him up to Mithridates at a time when he was sick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

* Mithridates, who was desirous of gaining the people's hearts by his reputation for clemency, sent home all the Greeks he had taken prisoners, and supplied them with provisions for their journey. That instance of his goodness and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him excessive praises, called him the preserver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Asia, with all the other names ascribed to Bacchus, to which he had a just title, for he passed for the prince of his times† who could drink most without being disordered; a quality he valued himself upon, and thought much to his honour.

The fruits of his first victories were the conquest of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven; of Phrygia and Mysia, lately made Roman provinces; of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and several other countries.

Having found at Stratonicea, a young maid of exquisite beauty, named Monima, he took her along with him in his train.

‡ Mithridates, considering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, who were at that time in Asia Minor, upon different affairs, carried on secret intrigues much to the prejudice of his interests, he sent private orders from Ephesus, where he then

* Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 461. Athen. l. v. p. 213. Cic. Orat. pro Flacco. n. 60.

† Plut. in Sympos. l. i. p. 624.

‡ A. M. 3916. Ant. J. C. 88. Appian. p. 185. Cic. in Orat. pro lege Manil. n. 7.

was, to the governors of the provinces, and magistrates of the cities of Asia Minor, to massacre them all upon a day fixed $\dagger$. The women, children, and domestics, were included in this proscription. To these orders was annexed a prohibition to give interment to those who should be killed. Their estates and effects were to be confiscated for the use of the king and the murderers. A severe fine was laid upon such as should conceal the living, or bury the dead; and a reward appointed for whoever discovered those that were hid. Liberty was given to the slaves who killed their masters; and debtors forgiven half their debts, for killing their creditors. The repetition only of this horrid order is enough to make one tremble with horror. What then must have been the desolation in all those provinces, when it was put in execution! 80,000 Romans and Italians were butchered in consequence of it. Some make the slain amount to almost twice that number.

$\S$ Being informed that there was a great treasure at Cos, he sent people thither to seize it. Cleopatra queen of Egypt had deposited it there, when she undertook the war in Phœnicia, against her son in Lathyrus. Besides this treasure, they found 800 talents (800,000 crowns,) which the Jews in Asia Minor had deposited there, when they saw the war ready to break out.

* All those who had found means to escape this general slaughter in Asia, had taken refuge at Rhodes, which received them with joy, and afforded them a secure retreat. Mithridates laid siege to that city ineffectually, which he was soon obliged to raise, after having been in danger of being taken himself in a sea-fight, wherein he lost many of his ships.

$\dagger$ When he had made himself master of Asia Minor, Mithridates sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of 120,000 men into Greece. That general took Athens, and chose it for his residence, giving all orders from thence, in regard to the war on that side. During his stay there, he engaged most of the cities and states of Greece in the interests of his master. He reduced Delos by force, which had revolted from the Athenians, and reinstated them in the possession of it. He sent them the sacred treasure, kept in that island by Aristion, to whom he gave 2000 men as a guard for the money. Aristion was an Athenian philosopher of the sect of Epicurus. He employed the 2000 men under his command to seize all authority at Athens, where he exercised a most cruel tyranny, putting

$\dagger$ *Is uno die, toto Asia, tot in civitatibus, nunc nuntio, atque una literarum significatione, cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit.* Cic.

$\S$ Appian. p. 186. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

* Appian. p. 186—188. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 402.

$\dagger$ Plut. in Sylla, p. 458—461. Appian. in Mith. id. p. 188—197.

many of the citizens to death, and sending many to Mithridates, upon pretence they were of the Roman faction.

† Such was the state of affairs when Sylla was charged with the war against Mithridates. He set out immediately for Greece with five legions, and some cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Pergamus, where he distributed riches, governments, and other rewards to his friends.

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which, subjected to the tyrant Aristion's yoke, was obliged unwillingly to oppose him. The Roman general having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies; the one of which he sent to besiege Aristion in the city of Athens, and with the other he marched in person to the port Piræus, which was a kind of second city, where Archelaus had shut himself up, relying upon the strength of the place, the walls being almost 60 feet high, and entirely of hewn stone. The work was indeed very strong, and had been raised by the order of Pericles in the Peloponnesian war, when the hopes of victory depending solely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmost of his power.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all sorts of engines in battering it, and made continual assaults. If he would have waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without striking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the last extremity. But being in haste to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his absence, he spared neither danger, attacks, nor expence, in order to hasten the conclusion of that war. Without enumerating the rest of the warlike stores and equipage, 20,000 mules were perpetually employed in working the machines only. Wood happening to fall short, from the great consumption made of it in the machines, which were often either broke or spoiled by the vast weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not spare the sacred groves. He cut down the trees in the walks of the academy and Lycæum, which were the finest and best planted in the suburbs, and caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished, in order to make use of the ruins in erecting his works, and carrying on his approaches.

As he had occasion for abundance of money in this war, and desired to attach the soldiers to his interests, and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourse to the inviolable treasures of the temples, and caused the finest and most precious gifts, consecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought from thence. He wrote to the amphictyons assembled at Delphos, "that they would act wisely in sending him the treasures of

"the god, because they would be more secure in his hands; and" "if he should be obliged to make use of them, he would return" "the value after the war." At the same time he sent one of his friends, named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphos, to receive all those treasures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphos, he was afraid, out of reverence for the god, to meddle with the gifts consecrated to him, and wept, in the presence of the amphictyons, the necessity imposed upon him. Upon which, some person there having said, that he heard the sound of Apollo's lyre from the inside of the sanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was for taking that occasion to strike Sylla with a religious awe, he wrote him an account of what happened. Sylla, deriding his simplicity, replied, "that he was surprised he should not comprehend, that singing was a sign of joy, and by no means of anger and resentment; and therefore he had nothing to do" "but to take the treasures boldly, and be assured, that the" "god saw him do so with pleasure, and gave them to him himself."

Plutarch, on this occasion, observes upon the difference between the ancient Roman generals, and those of the times we now speak of. The former, whom merit alone had raised to office, and who had no views from employments but the public good, knew how to make the soldiers respect and obey them, without descending to use low and unworthy methods for that purpose. They commanded troops that were wise, disciplined, and well inured to execute the orders of their generals without reply or delay. Truly kings; says * Plutarch, in the grandeur and nobility of their sentiments, but simple and modest private persons in their train and equipage, they put the state to no other expence in the discharge of their offices than what was reasonable and necessary; conceiving it more shameful in a captain to flatter his soldiers than to fear his enemies. Things were much changed in the times we now speak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to insatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themselves slaves to their soldiers, and to buy their services by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greatest crimes.

Sylla, in consequence, was perpetually in extreme want of money to satisfy his troops, and then more than ever, for carrying on the siege he had engaged in; the success of which seemed to him of the highest importance, both as to his honour and safety. He was for depriving Mithridates of the only city he had left in Greece, and which, by preventing the Romans from passing into Asia, made all hopes of conquering that prince vain, and would oblige Sylla to return shamefully into Italy,

* *Αὐτὰ γὰρ ταῖς ψυχαῖς βασιλικά καὶ βασιλεὺς ἔσκεν.*

where he would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was besides sensibly galled by the offensive raillery Aristion vented every day against himself and his wife Metella.

It is not easy to say whether the attack or defence were conducted with most vigour; for both sides behaved with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended with almost battles in form, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally not very unequal. The besieged would not have been in a condition to have made so vigorous a defence, if they had not received several considerable reinforcements by sea.

What hurt them most, was the secret treachery of two Athenian slaves that were in the Piræus. Those slaves, whether out of affection to the Roman party, or desirous of providing for their own safety in case the place were taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them with slings to the Romans: so that whatever wise measures Archelaus took, who defended the Piræus, whilst Aristion commanded in the city, nothing succeeded. He resolved to make a general sally; the traitors slung a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it: "to-morrow, at such an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the horse your camp." Sylla laid ambushes, and repulsed the besieged with loss. A convoy of provisions was in the night to have been thrown into the city that was in want of all things. Upon advice of the same kind, the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the Athenians defended themselves like lions. They found means either to burn most of the machines erected against the walls, or by undermining them to throw them down, and break them to pieces.

The Romans, on their side, behaved with no less vigour. By the help of mines also, they made a way to the bottom of the walls, under which they hollowed the ground, and having propt the foundations with beams of wood, they afterwards set fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, sulphur, and tow. When those beams were burned, part of the wall fell down with an horrible noise, and a large breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the assault. The battle continued a great while with equal ardour on both sides; but the Romans were at length obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The besieged had built a new wall during the night in the form of a crescent, in the place where the other had fallen; and the Romans found it impossible to force it.

Sylla, discouraged by so obstinate a defence, resolved to attack the Piræus no longer, and confined himself to reduce the place by famine. The city, on the other side, was at the last

extremity. A bushel of barley had been sold in it for 1000 drachms (about 25l. sterling). The inhabitants did not only eat the grass and roots, which they found about the citadel, but the flesh of horses, and the leather of shoes, which they boiled soft. In the midst of the public misery, the tyrant passed his days and nights in debauch. The senators and priests went to throw themselves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla: he dispersed them with arrow-shot; and in that manner drove them from his presence.

He did not demand a cessation of arms, nor send deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the last extremity. As those deputies made no proposals, and asked nothing of him to the purpose, but ran on in praising and extolling Theseus, Eumolpus, and the exploits of the Athenians against the Medes, Sylla was tired with their discourse, and interrupted them by saying, "gentlemen harranguers, you may go back again, and keep your rhetorical flourishes to yourselves. For my part, I was not sent to Athens to be informed of your ancient prowess, but to chastise your modern revolt."

During this audience, some spies having entered the city, overheard by chance some old men talking of the quarter called * Ceramicus, and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the only place by which the enemy might easily scale the walls. At their return into the camp, they related what they heard to Sylla. The parley had been to no purpose. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in person to take a view of the place; and finding the wall actually accessible, he ordered ladders to be raised against it, began the attack there, and having made himself master of the wall, after a weak resistance, entered the city. He would not suffer it to be set on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers; who in several houses found human flesh, which had been dressed to be eaten. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers, who were a very small number. He besieged the citadel the same day, where Aristion, and those who had taken refuge there, were soon so much reduced by famine, that they were forced to surrender themselves. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any office under him, were put to death.

Some few days after, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus, and burned all its fortifications, especially the arsenal, which had been built by Philo the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabric. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munichia, another port of Attica.

* The public place at Athens.

This year was fatal to the arms of Mithridates. Taxilus, one of his generals, arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, with 90 chariots armed with scythes. Archelaus, that general's brother, was at that time in the port of Munichia, and would neither remove from the sea, nor come to a battle with the Romans; but he endeavoured to protract the war, and cut off their provisions. This was a very wise conduct, for Sylla began to be in want of them; so that famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter the fruitful plains of Boeotia, where Hortensius joined him. Their troops being united, they took possession of a fertile eminence in the midst of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. When they had formed their camp, the enemy could discover at a view their small number which amounted only to 15,000 foot, and 1500 horse. This induced Archelaus's generals to press him in the warmest manner to proceed to action. They did not obtain his consent without great difficulty. They immediately began to move, and covered the whole plain with horses, chariots, and their innumerable troops: for when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noise and cries of so many thousands of men preparing for battle, the pomp and magnificence of their array, were equally terrible. The brightness of their armour, magnificently adorned with gold and silver, and the lively colours of the Median and Scythian coats of arms, mingled with the glitter of brass and steel, reflected a kind of rays, which, whilst they dazzled the sight, filled the soul with terror.

The Romans, seized with dread, kept close within their intrenchments. Sylla, not being able by his discourse and remonstrances to remove their fear, and not being willing to force them to fight in their present universal discouragement, was obliged to lie still and suffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and insulting derision of the barbarians. They conceived so great a contempt for him in consequence, that they neglected to observe any discipline. Few of them kept within their intrenchments: the rest, for the sake of plunder, dispersed in great troops, and removed considerably, even several days journey from the camp. They plundered and ruined some cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the last despair when he saw the cities of the allies destroyed before his eyes, for want of power to make his army fight. He at last thought of a stratagem, which was, to give the troops no repose, and to keep them incessantly at work in turning the little river Cephissus, which was near his camp, and in digging deep and large fosses, under pretence of their better security; but in effect, that when they should be tired of such fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to

the continuance of their labour. This stratagem was successful. After having worked without intermission three days, as Sylla, according to custom, was taking a view of their progress, they cried out to him with one voice, to lead them against the enemy. Sylla suffered himself to be exceedingly intreated, and did not comply for some time ; but when he saw their ardour increase from his opposition, he made them stand to their arms and marched against the enemy.

The battle was fought near Cheronæa. The enemy had possessed themselves, with a great body of troops, of a very advantageous post, called Thurium : it was the ridge of a steep mountain, which extended itself upon the left flank of the Romans, and was very proper to check their motions. Two men of Cheronæa came to Sylla, and promised him to drive the enemy from this post, if he would give them a small number of chosen troops ; which he did. In the mean time he drew up his army in battle, divided his horse between the two wings, taking the right himself, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortensius formed a second line. Hortensius, on the left of it, supported Murena ; whilst Galba, on the right, did the same for Sylla. The barbarians had already begun to extend their horse and light-armed foot, in a large compass, with design to surround the second line, and charge it in the rear.

At that instant, the two men of Cheronæa, having gained the top of Thurium with their small troops without being perceived by the enemy, shewed themselves on a sudden. The barbarians, surprised and terrified, immediately took to flight. Pressing against each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down it before the enemy, who charged and pursued them down the hill with their swords at their backs, so that about 3000 men were killed upon the mountain. Of those that escaped, some fell into the hands of Murena, who had just before formed himself in battle. Having marched against them he intercepted and made a great slaughter of them : the rest, who endeavoured to gain their camp, fell in upon the main body of their troops with so much precipitation, that they threw the whole army into terror and confusion, and made their generals lose much time in restoring order, which was one of the principal causes of their defeat.

Sylla, to take advantage of this disorder, marched against them with so much vigour, and passed the space between the two armies with such rapidity, that he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with scythes. The force of these chariots depended upon the length of their course, which gave impetuosity and violence to their motion ; instead of which, a short space, that did not leave room for their career, rendered them useless and ineffectual. This the barbarians experienced at this time. The first chariots came on so slowly, and with so little

effect, that the Romans easily pushing them back, with great noise and loud laughter called for more, as was customary at Rome in the chariot-races of the circus.

After these chariots were removed, the two armies came to blows. The barbarians presented their long pikes, and kept close order with their bucklers joined; so that they could not be broken; and the Romans threw down their javelins, and, with sword in hand, removed the enemy's pikes, in order to join and charge them with greater fury. What increased their animosity, was the sight of 15,000 slaves, whom the king's generals had spirited from them by the promise of their liberty, and posted them among the heavy-armed foot. Those slaves had so much resolution and bravery, that they sustained the shock of the Roman foot without giving way. Their battle was so deep and so well closed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light-armed foot of the second line had put them into disorder, by the discharge of their arrows, and an hail of stones from their slings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to surround the left of the Romans, Hortensius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank; which Archelaus seeing, he ordered 2000 horse to wheel about. Hortensius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horse, retired by degrees towards the mountains, perceiving himself too far from the main body, and upon the point of being surrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with great part of his right wing, that had not yet engaged, marched to his relief. From the dust raised by those troops, Archelaus judged what they were, and leaving Hortensius, he turned about towards the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he should find no difficulty in defeating the right wing without its general.

Taxilus at the same time led on his foot, armed with brazen shields*, against Murena: whilst each side raised great cries, which made the neighbouring hills resound. Sylla halted on that noise, not knowing well to which side he should hasten. At length, he thought it most expedient to return to his former post, and support his right wing. He therefore sent Hortensius to assist Murena with four cohorts; and taking the fifth with him he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle with Archelaus, neither side having the advantage. But as soon as he appeared, that wing, taking new courage from the presence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and pursued them vigorously for a considerable time.

After this great success, without losing a moment he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding him also victorious, and that he

* Chalcuspides.

had defeated Taxillus, he joined him in the pursuit of the vanquished. A great number of the barbarians were killed in the plain, and a greater number cut to pieces, in endeavouring to gain their camp; so that of many thousand men, only 10,000 escaped, who fled to the city of Chalcia. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only 14 of his men were missing, and that two of them returned the same evening.

* To celebrate so great a victory, he gave the music games at Thebes, and caused judges to come from the neighbouring Grecian cities to distribute the prizes; for he had an implacable aversion to the Thebans. He even deprived them of half their territory, which he consecrated to Apollo Pythius, and Jupiter Olympius, and decreed, that the money he had taken out of the temples of those gods should be repaid out of their revenues.

These games were no sooner over, than he received advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus, of the adverse party (for at this time the divisions between Marius and Sylla were at the highest), had been elected consul, and had already crossed the Ionian sea with an army, in appearance against Mithridates, but in reality against himself. For this reason he began his march to Thessaly, as with design to meet him; but being arrived at the city of Melitea, news came to him from all sides, that all the places he had left in his rear were plundered by another of the king's armies, stronger and more numerous than the first: for Dorylaeus was arrived at Chalcia with a great fleet, on board of which were 80,000 men, the best equipped, the most warlike and disciplined of all Mithridates' troops, and had thrown himself into Boeotia, and possessed himself of the whole country, in order to bring Sylla to a battle. Archelaus would have diverted him from that design, by giving him an exact account of the battle he had so lately lost; but his counsel and remonstrances had no effect. He soon knew that the advice he had given him was highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenus for the field of battle. Sylla caused fosses to be dug on each side of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country, and to remove them towards the marshes. The barbarians fell furiously on the workmen, dispersed them, and put to flight the troops that supported them. Sylla, seeing his army flying in this manner, quitted his horse immediately, and seizing one of his ensigns, he pushed forwards towards the enemy through those that fled, crying to them, "for me, Romans, I think it glorious to die here. But for you, when you shall be asked where you abandoned your general, remember to say it was at Orchomenus." They could not suffer those reproaches, and returned to the charge with such fury, that they made

* A. M. 5912. Ant. J. C. 85.

† In Thessaly.

Archelaus' troops turn their backs. The barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulsed with greater loss.

The next day, at sun rise, Sylla led back his troops towards the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches, and falling upon those who were detached to skirmish and drive away the workmen, he charged them so rudely, that he put them to flight. These threw the troops who had continued in the camp into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered it pell-mell with those that fled, and made himself master of it. The marshes in a moment were dyed with blood, and the dike filled with dead bodies. The enemy, in different attacks, lost the greatest part of their troops, Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marshes, and escaped at last to Chalcia.

The news of all these defeats threw Mithridates into great consternation. However as that prince was by nature fruitful in resources, he did not lose courage, and applied himself to repair his losses by making new levies; but from the fear that his ill success might give birth to some revolt or conspiracy against his person, as had already happened, he took the bloody precaution of putting all he suspected to death, without sparing even his best friends.

* He was not more successful in Asia himself than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder of his best troops. He pursued the vanquished as far as the gates of Pergamus, where Mithridates resided, and obliged him to quit that place himself, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place of Troas. Fimbria pursued him thither, and invested him by land. But as he had no fleet to do the same by sea, he sent to Lucullus, who cruised in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, and represented to him, that he might acquire immortal glory by seizing the person of Mithridates, who could not escape him, and by putting an end to so important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other; so that Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and extricated himself out of the hands of the Romans. This fault cost them very dear, and is not extraordinary in states where misunderstandings subsist between the ministers and generals of the army, which make them neglect the public good, lest they should contribute to the glory of their rivals.

Lucullus afterwards beat Mithridates' fleet twice, and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprising, as it was not expected from Lucullus to distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar; and, during his being quæstor in Asia, the province had always enjoyed peace. But so happy a ge-

* Plut. in Syll. 466—684. Id. in Lucul. p. 493. Appian. p. 204. 340

nus as his did not want to be taught by experience, which is not to be acquired by lessons, and is generally the growth of many years. He supplied that defect in some measure, by employing the whole time of his journey, by land or sea, partly in asking questions of persons experienced in the art of war, and partly in instructing himself by the reading of history: so that he arrived in Asia a complete general, though he left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war*. Let our young warriors consider this with due attention, and observe in what manner the great form themselves.

Whilst Sylla was very successful in Greece, the faction that opposed him, and at that time engrossed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy to the commonwealth. Cinna and Carbo treated the noblest and most considerable persons with every kind of cruelty and injustice. Most of these, to avoid this insupportable tyranny, had chosen to retire to Sylla's camp, as to a port of safety; so that in a small time Sylla had a little senate about him. His wife Metella, having escaped with great difficulty with her children, brought him an account, that his enemies had burned his house, and ruined his lands, and begged him to depart immediately to the relief of those who remained in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the same fury.

Sylla was in the greatest perplexity. On the one side, the miserable condition to which his country was reduced, inclined him to march directly to its relief; on the other, he could not resolve to leave imperfect so great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. Whilst he was under this cruel dilemma, a merchant came to him to treat with him in secret from general Archelaus, and to make him some proposals of an accommodation. He was so exceedingly rejoiced when this man had explained his commission, that he made all possible haste to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the banks of the sea, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who did not know how important it was to Sylla to have it in his power to repass into Italy, proposed to him the uniting his interest with those of Mithridates; and added, that his master would supply him with

* Ad Mithridaticum bellum missus a senatu, non modo opinionem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque eo fuit mirabilius, quod ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi opera, quæstura diuturnum tempus, Murena bellum in Ponto gerente, in Asia pace consumpserat. Sed incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usum disciplinam. Itaque, cum totum iter et navigationem consumpisset, partim in percontando a peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis: in Asiam factus imperator venit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis. Cic. Academ. Quæst. l. iv. n. 2.

money, troops, and ships, for a war against the faction of Cinna and Marius.

Sylla, without seeming offended at first with such proposals, exhorted him on his side to withdraw himself from the slavery in which he lived, under an imperious and cruel prince. He added, that he might take upon him the title of king in his government, and offered to have him declared the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up to him Mithridates's fleet under his command. Archelaus rejected that proposal with indignation, and even expressed to the Roman general, how much he thought himself injured by the supposition of his being capable of such a treason. Upon which Sylla, assuming the air of grandeur and dignity so natural to the Romans, said to him, "if, being only a slave, and at best but an officer of a barbarian king, you look upon it as a baseness to quit the service of your master, how dared you to propose the abandoning the interests of the republic to such a Roman as me? Do you imagine our condition and affairs to be equal? Have you forgot my victories? Do you not remember that you are the same Archelaus I have defeated in two battles, and forced in the last to hide himself in the marches of Orchomenus?"

Archelaus, confounded by so haughty an answer, sustained himself no longer in the sequel of the negociation. Sylla got the ascendant entirely; and, dictating the law as victor, proposed the following conditions: that Mithridates should renounce Asia and Paphlagonia; that he should restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes; that he should pay the Romans 2000 talents (about 300,000*l.* sterling,) for the expences of the war, and 70 armed galleys, with their whole equipage; and that Sylla, on his side, should secure to Mithridates the rest of his dominions, and cause him to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people. Archelaus seemed to approve those conditions, and dispatched a courier immediately to communicate them to Mithridates. Sylla set out for the Hellespont, carrying Archelaus with him, whom he treated with great honours.

He received Mithridates' ambassadors at Larissa, who came to declare to him, that their master accepted and ratified all the other articles, but that he desired he would not deprive him of Paphlagonia: and that as to the 70 galleys, he could by no means comply with that article. Sylla, offended at this refusal, answered them in an angry tone, "what say you? would Mithridates keep possession of Paphlagonia; and does he refuse me the galleys I demanded? I expected to have seen him return me thanks upon his knees for having only left him the hand with which he butchered 100,000 Romans. He will change his note when I go over to Asia; though at present,

"in the midst of his court at Pergamus, he meditates plans for "a war he never saw." Such was the lofty style of Sylla, who gave Mithridates to understand at the same time, that he would not talk such language had he been present at the past battles.

The ambassadors terrified with this answer, made no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to soften Sylla, and promised him that Mithridates should consent to all the articles. He set out for that purpose; and Sylla, after having laid waste the country, returned into Macedonia.

* Archelaus upon his return joined him at the city of Philippi, and informed him, that Mithridates would accept the proposed conditions; but that he exceedingly desired to have a conference with him. What made him earnest for this interview, was his fear of Fimbria, who having killed Flaccus, of whom mention is made before, and put himself at the head of that consul's army, advanced by great marches against Mithridates; which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of Thracia. Mithridates had with him 200 galleys, 20,000 foot, 6000 horse, and a great number of chariots armed with scythes; and Sylla had only four cohorts, and 200 horse in his company. When Mithridates advanced to meet him and offered him his hand, Sylla asked him, whether he accepted the proposed conditions? As the king kept silence, Sylla continued, "do you not know, Mithridates, that it is for suppliants to speak, and for the victorious to hear and be silent?" Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to ascribe the cause of the war partly to the gods and partly to the Romans. Sylla interrupted him; and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a second time, whether he would ratify the conditions Archelaus had laid before him. Mithridates surprised at the haughtiness and steady air of the Roman general, having answered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces: and afterwards presenting the kings Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the 70 galleys entirely equipped, and 500 archers, re-embarked.

Sylla saw plainly that this treaty of peace was highly disagreeable to his troops. They could not bear that a prince, who of all kings was the most mortal enemy to Rome, and who in one day had caused 100,000 Roman citizens, dispersed in Asia, to be put to the sword, should be treated with so much favour, and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans, almost still reeking with their blood. Sylla, to justify

* A. M. 5920. Ant. J. C. 84

his conduct, gave them to understand, that if he had rejected his proposals of peace, Mithridates, on his refusal, would not have failed to treat with Fimbria; and that if those two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conquests, or hazard a battle against troops superior in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might have deprived him of the fruit of all his victories.

Thus ended the first war with Mithridates, which had lasted four years, and in which Sylla had destroyed more than 160,000 of the enemy, recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had possessed himself; and having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, obliged him to confine himself within the bounds of his hereditary dominions.* But what is most to be admired in Sylla is, that during three years, whilst the factions of Marius and Cinna had enslaved Italy, he did not dissemble his intending to turn his arms against them, and yet continued the war he had begun, convinced that it was necessary to conquer the foreign enemy before he reduced and punished those at home. He was also highly laudable for his constancy, in not hearkening to any proposals from Mithridates, who offered him considerable aid against his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace he prescribed to him.

Some days after, Sylla began his march against Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatira, in Lydia, and having marked out a camp near his, he began his intrenchments. Fimbria's soldiers, who came unarmed, ran out to salute and embrace those of Sylla, and assisted them with great pleasure in forming their lines. Fimbria seeing this change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcilable enemy, from whom he could expect no mercy, after having attempted in vain to get him assassinated, killed himself.

Sylla condemned Asia in general to pay 20,000 talents,† and besides that, rifled particulars exceedingly, by abandoning their houses to the insolence and rapaciousness of his troops, whom he quartered upon them, and who lived at discretion as in conquered cities; for he gave orders that every host should pay each soldier quartered upon him four ‡drachms a day, and entertain at table himself, and as many of his friends as he should think fit to invite; that each captain should have 50 § drachms,

* Vix quidquam in Syllæ operibus clarius duxerim, quam quod, cum per triennium Cinnanæ Marianæ partes Italianæ obiderent, illaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus omisit; existimavitque ante frangendum hostem, quam ulciscendum civem; repulsoque externo metu, ubi quod alienum esset vicisset, superaret quod erat domesticum. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 2.

† About 3,000,000 sterling. ‡ About 2s. § About £.1 5s.

and besides that, a robe for the house and another when he went abroad.

¶ After having punished Asia, he set out from Ephesus with all his ships, and arrived the third day at Piræus. Having been initiated in the great mysteries, he took for his own use the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Aristotle. That philosopher at his death had left his writings to Theophrastus, one of his most illustrious disciples. The latter had transferred them to Neleus of Scæpis, a city in the neighbourhood of Pergamus in Asia; after whose death those works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant persons who kept them shut up in a chest. When the kings of Pergamus began to collect industriously all sorts of books for their library, as the city of Scæpis was in their dependence, those heirs, apprehending these works would be taken from them, thought proper to hide them in a vault under ground, where they remained almost 150 years; till the heirs of Neleus's family, which after several generations, were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to sell them to Apellicon, a rich Athenian, who sought every where after the most curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and the damp place where they had lain, Apellicon had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chasms; because the originals were either rotten in many places, or worm-eaten and obliterated. These blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could by conjecture, and that in some places with sufficient want of judgment. From hence arose the many difficulties in those works, which have ever since divided the learned world. Apellicon being dead some small time before Sylla's arrival at Athens, he seized upon his library, and with these works of Aristotle, which he found in it, enriched his own at Rome. A famous grammarian of those times, named Tyrannion, who lived then at Rome, having a great desire for these works of Aristotle, obtained permission from Sylla's librarian to take a copy of them. That copy was communicated to Andronicus the Rhodian, who afterwards imparted it to the public: the world is obliged to him for the works of that great philosopher.

SECTION II.

SECOND AND THIRD WAR WITH MITHRIDATES.—TRAGICAL
END OF HIS SISTERS AND WIVES.

SYLLA *, on setting out for Rome, had left the government of Asia to Murena, with the two legions that had served under Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is

¶ Plut. in Syll. p. 468. Strab. l. xiii. p. 609. Athen. l. iii. p. 214. Laert. in Theoph.

* A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. Appian. p. 313—216.

the father of him for whom Cicero made the fine oration which bears his name. His son at this time made his first campaigns under him.

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates being returned into Pontus, marched his army against the people of Cholcis and Bosphorus, who had revolted against him. They first demanded his son Mithridates for their king; and having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king, imagining their conduct to proceed from his son's intrigues, took umbrage at it; and having caused him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and soon after put him to death. That son had done him great services in the war against Fimbria. We see here a new instance of the jealousy which the excessive love of power is apt to incite, and to what an height the prince who abandons himself to it is capable of carrying his suspicions against his own blood; always ready to proceed to the most fatal extremities, and to sacrifice whatever is dearest to him to the slightest distrust. As for the inhabitants of the Bosphorus, he prepared a great fleet and a numerous army which gave reason to believe his designs were against the Romans. He had not indeed restored all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but reserved part of it in his own hands; and he began to suspect Archelaus, as having engaged him in a peace equally shameful and disadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the master he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and solicited him warmly to turn his arms against Mithridates. Murena, who passionately desired to obtain the honour of a triumph, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. He made an irruption into Cappadocia, and made himself master of Comana, the most powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates sent ambassadors to him to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied, that he knew of no treaty made with their master. There was in reality nothing reduced to writing on Sylla's part, the whole having passed by verbal agreement. In consequence, he continued to ravage the country, and took up his winter-quarters in it. Mithridates sent ambassadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the senate.

* There came a commissioner from Rome, but without a decree of the senate, who publicly ordered Murena not to molest the king of Pontus. But as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon as a mere collusion; and indeed Murena persisted in ravaging his country. Mithridates therefore took the field; and having passed the river Halys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loss.

* A. M. 8022. Ant. J. C. 82.

* Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to suffer any longer that Mithridates, contrary to the treaty he had granted him, should be disquieted, sent Gabinus to Murena to order him in earnest to desist from making war with that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes. He obeyed. Mithridates having put one of his sons of only four years old into the hands of Ariobarzanes as an hostage, under that pretext retained the cities in which he had garrisons, promising no doubt to restore them in time. He then gave a feast, in which he proposed prizes for such as should excel the rest in drinking, eating, singing, and rallying; fit objects of emulation! Gabinus was the only one who did not think proper to enter these lists. Thus ended the second war with Mithridates, which lasted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which his pretensions were but indifferent.

† Mithridates at length restored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, forced by Sylla, who died the same year; but he contrived a stratagem to deprive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which, from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law to conquer Cappadocia and to transport the inhabitants into the new city, and the other parts of his dominions that were not well peopled. He did so, and took away 800,000 souls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he acted in the same manner, for the better peopling of his dominions.

‡ The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius, who had given the Romans terrible employment in Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of sending an embassy to him, in order to engage him to join forces against the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, insinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the same time on different sides, could never be able to oppose two such formidable powers, when the most able and experienced of generals should act in concert with the greatest of kings. He therefore sent ambassadors to Spain, with letters and instructions for treating with Sertorius, to whom they offered in his name a fleet and money to carry on the war, upon condition that he would suffer that prince to recover the provinces of Asia, which the necessity of his affairs had reduced him to abandon, by the treaty he made with Sylla.

As soon as those ambassadors arrived in Spain, and had opened their commission to Sertorius, he assembled his council, which he called the senate. They were unanimously of opinion, to

* A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 81. † A. M. 3926. Ant J. C. 78.

‡ A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. p. 216, 217. Plut. in Sertor. p. 580, 581.

accept that prince's offers with joy, and the rather because so immediate and effective an aid, as the offered fleet and money, would cost him only a vain consent to an enterprise which it did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a truly Roman greatness of soul, protested that he would never consent to any treaty injurious to the glory or interest of his country; and that he could desire no victory from his own enemies, that was not acquired by just and honourable methods. And having made Mithridates's ambassadors come into the assembly, he declared to them that he would suffer their master to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, which were accustomed to be governed by kings, and of which the Romans could pretend to no just right to dispose; but he would never consent he should have any footing in Asia Minor, which appertained to the republic, and which he had renounced by a solemn treaty.

When this answer was related to Mithridates, it struck him with amazement; and he is affirmed to have said to his friends, "what orders may we not expect from Sertorius, when he shall sit in the senate in the midst of Rome; who even now, confined upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean, dictates bounds to our dominions and declares war against us if we undertake any thing against Asia?" A treaty was however concluded and sworn between them to this effect: that Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius should send him troops for that purpose, and one of his captains to command them; and that Mithridates on his side should pay Sertorius 2000 talents down, and gave him 40 galleys.

The captain sent by Sertorius into Asia was a banished senator of Rome, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours: for, when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the fasces and axes, Mithridates followed him, well satisfied with the second place, and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior ally, in this proconsul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatness, that the name alone of that potent republic obscured the splendour and power of the greatest kings. Mithridates, however found his interest in this conduct. Marius, authorised by the Roman people and senate, discharged most of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes Sylla had imposed on them; expressly declaring, that it was from Sertorius that they received, and to whom they were indebted for that favour. So moderate and politic a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name of Sertorius alone made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

* About 450,000*l.* sterling.

* Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died this year, and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have observed elsewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately formed a resolution to renew the war against them upon this occasion, and employed the greatest part of the year in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. He believed that after the death of Sylla, and during the troubles with which the republic was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entering upon the conquests he had given up.

† Instructed by his misfortunes and experience, he banished from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to consider as the allurements of the victor, and not as the strength of those who wore them. He caused swords to be forged after the Roman fashion, with solid and weighty bucklers; he collected horses, rather well made and broke, than magnificently adorned; assembled 120,000 foot, armed and disciplined like the Roman infantry, and 16,000 horse well equipped for service, besides 100 chariots armed with long scythes, and drawn by four horses. He also fitted out a considerable number of galleys, which glittered no longer, as before with gilt pavilions, but were filled with all sorts of arms, offensive and defensive, and well provided with sums of money for the pay and subsistence of the troops.

Mithridates had begun by seizing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Asia, which found itself exhausted by the exactions of the Roman tax farmers and usurers, to deliver themselves from their oppression, declared a second time for him. Such was the cause of the third Mithridatic war, which subsisted almost 12 years.

‡ The two consuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were sent against him, each of them with an army under him. Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, for his province: the other Bithynia and Propontis.

Whilst Lucullus was employed in reforming the rapaciousness and violence of the farmers and usurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries through which he passed, by giving them good hopes for the time to come: Cotta, who was already arrived, thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the absence of his colleague, to signalise himself by some great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told that Lucullus approached, that he was already in Phrygia, and would soon arrive, the greater haste he made to fight; believing himself already assured of a triumph,

* A. M. 3629. Ant. J. C. 75. Appian. de Bello Mithrid. p. 175.

† Plut. in Lucul. p. 469.

‡ A. M. 3930. Ant. J. C. 74.

and desirous of preventing his colleague from having any share in it : but he was beaten by sea and land. In the naval battle he lost 60 of his ships, with their whole complements ; and that by land he had 4000 of his best troops killed, and was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Chalcedon, with no hope of any other relief but what his colleague should think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cotta's rash and presumptuous conduct, endeavoured to persuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops and where he might assure himself of finding the people inclined to revolt. He answered generously, that he should always esteem it more glorious to preserve a Roman citizen, than to possess himself of the whole dominions of an enemy ; and without resentment against his colleague, he marched to assist him, with all the success he could have hoped. This was the first action by which he distinguished himself, and which ought to do him more honour than the most splendid victories.

† Mithridates, encouraged by the double advantage he had gained, undertook the siege of Cyzicum, a city of Propontis, which strenuously supported the Roman party in this war. In making himself master of this place, he would have opened himself a passage from Bithynia into Asia Minor, which would have been very advantageous, in giving him an opportunity of carrying the war thither with all possible ease and security. It was for this reason he desired to take it. In order to succeed, he invested it by land with 300,000 men, divided in 10 camps ; and by sea with 400 ships. Lucullus soon followed him thither, and began by seizing a post upon an eminence of the last importance to him, because it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's provisions. He had only 300,000 foot, and 2500 horse. The superiority of the enemy in number, far from dismaying, encouraged him ; for he was convinced that so innumerable a multitude would soon be in want of provisions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promised them in a few days a victory that would not cost them a single drop of blood. It was in that he placed his glory ; for the lives of his soldiers were dear to him.

The siege was long, and carried on with extreme vigour. Mithridates battered the place on all sides with innumerable machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged did prodigies of valour, and employed all means that the most industrious capacity could invent, to repulse the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or rendering them useless by a thousand obstacles they opposed to them. What in-

† A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Plut. in Lucul. p. 497—499. Appian. p. 219—220.

spired them with so much courage was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know that if they continued to defend themselves with the same valour the place would not be taken.

Lucullus was indeed so well posted, that without coming to a general action, which he always carefully avoided, he made Mithridates's army suffer infinitely, by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments he sent out from time to time. In a word, he knew so well how to improve all occasions that offered, he weakened the army of the besiegers so much, and used such address in cutting off their provisions, having shut up all avenues by which they might be supplied, that he reduced them to extreme famine. The soldiers could find no other food but the herbage: and some went so far as to support themselves upon human flesh. * Mithridates †, who passed for the most artful captain of his times, in despair that a general, who could not have had so much experience, should so often put the change upon him by false marches and feigned movements, and had defeated him without drawing his sword, was at length obliged to raise the siege shamefully, after having spent almost two years before the place. He fled by sea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land, to Nicomedia. Lucullus pursued them; and having come up with them near the Granicus, he killed 20,000 of them upon the spot, and took an infinite number of prisoners. It was said, that in this war there perished almost 800,000 men, soldiers, and servants, with other followers of the army.

After this new success Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city, and after having enjoyed for some days the pleasure of having preserved it and the honours consequential of that success, he made a swift tour upon the coasts of the Hellespont, to collect ships and form a fleet.

Mithridates, after having raised the siege of Cyzicum, repaired to Nicomedia, from whence he passed by sea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and 10,000 men, of his best troops, in the Hellespont, under three of his most able generals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet ‡, beat them twice; the first

* A. M. 6983. Ant. J. C. 71.

† Cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum moenia constitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates Asiæ januam fore putavisset, qua effracta et revulsa, tota pateret provincia; perfecta ab Lucullo hæc sunt omnia, ut urbs fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, ut omnes capite regis diuturnitate obsidionis consumerentur. Cic. in Orat. pro Mur. n. 33.

‡ Ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornata, quæ ducibus

time at Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, and of alarming and plundering the coasts of Rome itself. He killed almost all their men in those two engagements; and in the last took M. Marius the Roman senator, whom Sertorius had sent from Spain to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, because it was not consistent with the Roman dignity that a senator of Rome should be led in triumph. One of the two others poisoned himself; and the third was reserved for the triumph. After having cleared the coasts by these two victories, Lucullus turned his arms towards the continent; reduced Bithynia first, then Paphlagonia; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridates's dominions.

He suffered at first so great a want of provisions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make 30,000 Galatians follow the army, each with a quantity of wheat upon his shoulders. But upon his advancing into the country, and subjecting the cities and provinces, he found such abundance of all things, that an ox sold only for one drachm,* and a slave for no more than four.

Mithridates had suffered almost as much by the tempest in his passage on the Euxine sea as in the campaign wherein he had been treated so roughly. He lost in it almost all the remainder of his fleet, and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his ancient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmost expedition, to defend himself against that invasion, which he had foreseen.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loss of time besieged Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities of the country, very near each other. The latter, which had been very lately built, was called Eupatoria, from the surname of Eupator, given to Mithridates: this place was his usual residence, and he designed to make it the capital of his dominions. Not contented with these two sieges at once, he sent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiscyra, upon the river Thermodon, which place was not less considerable than the two others.

The officers of Lucullus's army complained, that their general amused himself too long in sieges which were not worth his

Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatum esse atque depressam. Cic. pro lege Manil. n. 21.

Quid? Illam pugnam navalem ad Tenedum, cum tanto concursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis instata peteret, mediocri certamine et parva dimicatione commissam arbitraris? Id. pro Murena, n. 33.

* Tenpence.

trouble; and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army, and gather strength. To which he answered in his justification: "that is directly what I want. I act in this manner for no other purpose, in order that our enemy may take new courage, and assemble so numerous an army, as may embolden him to expect us in the field, and fly no longer before us. Do you not observe that he has behind him immense solitudes and infinite deserts, in which, it will be impossible for us either to come up with or pursue him? Armenia is but a few days march from these deserts. There Tigranes keeps his court, that king of kings, whose power is so great, that he subdues the Parthians, transports whole cities of Greeks into the heart of Media, has made himself master of Syria and Palestine, exterminated the kings descended from Seleucus, and carried their wives and daughters into captivity. This powerful prince is the ally and son-in-law of Mithridates. Do you think, when he has him in his palace as a suppliant, that he will abandon him, and not make war against us? Hence, in hastening to drive away Mithridates, we shall be in great danger of drawing Tigranes upon our hands, who has long sought pretexts for declaring against us, and who can never find one more specious, legitimate, and honourable, than that of assisting his father-in-law, and a king reduced to the last extremity. Why, therefore, should we serve Mithridates against ourselves, or show him to whom he should have recourse for the means of supporting the war with us, by pushing him against his will, and at a time perhaps when he looks upon such a step as unworthy his valour and greatness, into the arms and protection of Tigranes? Is it not infinitely better, by giving him time to take courage, and strengthen himself with his own forces, to have only upon our hands the troops of Cholcis, the Tibarenians, and Cappadocians, whom we have so often defeated, than to expose ourselves to have the additional force of the Armenians and Medes to contend with."

Whilst the Romans attacked the three places we have mentioned, Mithridates, who had already formed a new army, took the field very early in the spring. Lucullus left the command of the sieges of Amisus and Eupatoria to Murena, the son of him we have spoken of before, whom Cicero represents in a very favourable light. * "He went into Asia, a province abounding with riches and pleasures, where he left behind him no traces either of avarice or luxury. He behaved in such a

* *Asiam istam refertam et eandem delicatam, sic obiit, ut in ea neque avaritiæ, neque luxuriæ vestigium reliquerit. Maximo in bello sic est versatus, ut hic multas res et magnas sine imperatore generit, nullam sine hoc imperator.* Cic. *pro Murena*, n. 20.

"manner in this important war, that he did many great actions "without the general, the general none without him." Lucullus marched against Mithridates, who lay encamped in the plains of Cabiræ. The latter had the advantage in two actions but was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly without either servant or equerry to attend him, or a single horse of his stable. It was not till very late, that one of his eunuchs, seeing him on foot in the midst of the flying crowd, got from his horse and gave it him. The Romans were so near him, that they almost had him in their hands; and it was owing entirely to themselves that they did not take him. The avarice only of the soldiers lost them a prey, which they had pursued so long, through so many toils, dangers, and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the sole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, says * Cicero, artfully imitated the manners in which Medea escaped the pursuit of her father, in the same kingdom of Pontus. That princess is said to have cut the body of Absyrtus, her brother, in pieces, and to have scattered his limbs in the places through which her father pursued her; in order that his care in taking up those dispersed members, and the grief so sad a spectacle would give him, might stop the rapidity of his pursuit. Mithridates in like manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious effects, which had either descended to him from his ancestors, or had been amassed by himself in the preceding wars: and whilst the soldiers employed themselves in gathering those treasures too attentively, the king escaped their hands. So that the father of Medea was stopped in his pursuit by sorrow, but the Romans by joy.

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city of Cabiræ, with several other places and castles, in which he found great riches. He found also the prisons full of Greeks, and princes nearly related to the king, who were confined in them. As those unhappy persons had long given themselves over for dead, the liberty they received from Lucullus seemed less a deliverance than new life to them. In one of these castles, a sister of the king's, named Nyssa, was also taken, which was a

* Ex suo regno sic Mithridates, profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur; quam prædicant, in fuga, fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa, mororque patrius celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat, et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congesterat in Ponto, omnes reliquit. Hoc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligenter, rex ipse a manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio moros hoc lætitia retardavit. Cic. de leg. Manil. c. 32.

great instance of her good fortune ; for the other sisters of that prince, with his wives, who had been sent farther from the danger, and who believed themselves in safety and repose, all died miserable ; Mithridates, on his flight, having sent them orders to die, by Bacchidas the eunuch.

Among the other sisters of the king were Roxana and Stasira, both unmarried, and about 40 years of age, with two of his wives, Berenice and Monima, both of Ionia. All Greece spoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her wisdom than beauty, though exquisite. The king having fallen desperately in love with her, had forgot nothing that might incline her to favour his passion. He sent her at once 15,000 pieces of gold. She was always averse to him, and refused his presents, till he gave her the quality of wife and queen, and sent her the royal tiara or diadem, an essential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of those nations. Nor did she then comply without extreme regret, and in compliance with her family, dazzled with the splendour of a crown, and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From her marriage to the instant of which we are now speaking, that unfortunate princess had passed her life in continual sadness and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty, that instead of a husband had given her a master, and of procuring her an honourable abode, and the endearments of conjugal society, had confined her in a close prison, under a guard of barbarians ; where, far removed from the delightful regions of Greece, she had only enjoyed a dream of the happiness with which she had been flattered, and had really lost that solid and essential good she possessed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and had signified to the princesses the orders of Mithridates, which favoured them no further than to leave them at liberty to choose the kind of death they should think most gentle and immediate, Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herself up by it : but that wreath not being strong enough, and breaking, she cried out, " ah ! fatal trifle, you might at least do me " this mournful office." Then, throwing it away with indignation, she presented her neck to Bacchidas.

As for Berenice, she took a cup of poison ; and as she was going to drink it, her mother, who was present, desired to share it with her. They accordingly drank both together. The half of that cup sufficed to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age, but was not enough to surmount the strength and youth of Berenice. That princess struggled long with death in the most violent agonies, till Bacchidas, tired with waiting the effects of the poison, ordered her to be strangled.

Of the two sisters, Roxana is said to have swallowed poison, venting a thousand reproaches and imprecations against Mithridates. Statira, on the contrary, was pleased with her brother, and thanked him, that being in so great danger for his own person, he had not forgot them, and had taken care to supply them with the means of dying free, and of withdrawing from the indignities their enemies might else have made them suffer.

Their deaths extremely afflicted Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane disposition. He continued his march in pursuit of Mithridates; but having received advice that he was four days journey before him, and had taken the route of Armenia, to retire to his son-in-law, he returned directly; and after having subjected some countries, and taken some cities in the neighbourhood, he sent Appian Clodius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates of him; and in the mean time returned against Amisus, which place was not yet taken. * Callimachus, who commanded in it, and was the most able engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the siege. When he saw that he could hold out no longer, he set fire to the city, and escaped in a ship that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmost to extinguish the flames, but in vain; and, to increase his concern, saw himself obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the soldiers, from whom the place had as much to fear as from the flames themselves. His troops were insatiable for booty, and he not capable of restraining them. A rain that happened to fall, preserved a great number of buildings; and Lucullus, before his departure, caused those which had been burned to be rebuilt. This city was an ancient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Aristion's being master of Athens, as desired to fly from his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the same rights and privileges with the natives.

Lucullus, when he left Amisus, directed his march towards the cities of Asia, which the avarice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers held under the most dreadful oppression; inso-much that those poor people were obliged to sell their children of both sexes, and even set up to auction the paintings and statues consecrated to the gods: and when these would not suffice to pay the duties, taxes, and interest unpaid, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often exposed to such barbarous tortures, that slavery, in comparison with their miseries, seemed a kind of redress and tranquillity to them.

These immense debts of the province arose from the fine of 20,000 † talents, which Sylla had imposed on it. They had already paid the sum twice over: but those insatiable usurers,

* A. M. 3984. Ant. J. C. 70.

† About 3,000,000*l.* sterling.

by heaping interest upon interest, had run it up to † 120,000 talents; so that they still owed triple the sums they had already paid.

Tacitus § has reason to say, that usury was one of the most ancient evils of the Roman commonwealth, and the most frequent cause of sedition; but at the time we now speak of, it was carried to an excess not easy to comprehend.

The interest of money amongst the Romans was paid every month, and was one per cent.: hence it was called *usura centesima*, or *unciarum fœnus*; because in reckoning the twelve months, twelve per cent. was paid: *uncia* is the twelfth part of an whole.

* The law of the twelve tables prohibited the raising interest to above twelve per cent. This law was revived by the two tribunes of the people, in the 396th year of Rome.

†† Ten years after, interest was reduced to half that sum, in the 406th year of Rome: *semunciarum fœnus*.

‡ At length, in the 411th year of Rome, all interest was prohibited by decree: *ne fœnerari liceret*.

All these decrees were ineffectual. || Avarice was always too strong for the laws: and whatever regulations were made to suppress it, either in the time of the republic, or under the emperors, it always found means to elude them. Nor has it paid more regard to the laws of the church, which has never entered into any composition in this point, and severely condemns all usury, even the most moderate; because God, having forbade any, she never believed she had a right to permit it in the least. It is remarkable that usury has always occasioned the ruin of the states where it has been tolerated; and it was this disorder which contributed very much to subvert the constitution of the Roman commonwealth, and gave birth to the greatest calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

Lucullus at this time applied himself in giving the province of Asia some relaxation, which he could only effect by putting a stop to the injustice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers. The latter, finding themselves deprived by Lucullus of the immense gain they made, raised a great out-cry, as if they had been excessively injured, and by the force of money animated many orators against him; particularly confiding in having most of those who governed the republic in their debt, which gave them a very extensive and almost unbounded influence. But Lucullus

† About 18,000,000*l*. sterling. § Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16.

* Tacit. Annal. vi. c. 16. Liv. l. vii. n. 16. †† Liv. l. vii. n. 27.

‡ Liv. l. vii. n. 42.

|| Multis plebis scitis obviam itam fraudibus: quæ toties repressæ, miras per artes rursus oriebantur. Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16.

despised their clamours with a constancy the more admirable, from its being very uncommon.

SECTION III.

LUCULLUS DECLARES WAR WITH TIGRANES.—THE LATTER
LOSES TWO BATTLES.

TIGRANES*, to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a series of successes, of which there are few examples, that he was commonly surnamed the "king of kings." After having overthrown and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of Seleucus the Great; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given law to the Arabians, called Scænites; he reigned with an authority respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honours, after the manner of the east, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and supported by the immense riches he possessed, by the excessive and continual praises of his flatterers, and by a prosperity that had never known any interruption.

Appius Clodius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the splendour he could display, in order to give the ambassador an higher idea of the royal dignity; who on his side, uniting the haughtiness of his disposition with that which particularly characterised his republic, perfectly supported the dignity of a Roman ambassador.

After having explained in a few words, the subject of complaint which the Romans had against Mithridates, and that prince's breach of faith in breaking the peace, without so much as attempting to give any reason or colour for it; he told Tigranes, that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every sort of title to Lucullus's triumph; that he did not believe, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, that he would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates; and that in case of his refusal, he was instructed to declare war against him.

That prince, who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule but his will and pleasure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much more so with Lucullus's letter when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not satisfy him. He had assumed that of "king of kings," of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride in that respect so far as to cause himself to be served by crowned heads. He never appeared in

public without having four kings attending him ; two on foot, on each side of his horse, when he went abroad : at table, in his chamber, in short, every where he had always some of them to do the lowest offices for him ; but especially when he gave audience to ambassadors : for at that time, to give strangers a greater idea of his glory and power, he made them all stand in two ranks, one on each side of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and posture of common slaves. A pride so full of absurdity offends all the world. One more refined shocks less, though much the same at bottom.

It is not surprising that a prince of this character, should bear the manner in which Clodius spoke to him with impatience. It was the first free and sincere speech he had heard, during the 25 years he had governed his subjects, or rather tyrannised over them with excessive insolence. He answered, that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra his wife ; that the union between them, was of too strict a nature to admit his delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus ; and that if the Romans were unjust enough to make war against him, he knew how to defend himself, and to make them repent it. To express his resentment by his answer, he directed it only to Lucullus, without adding the usual title of imperator, or any others commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported his commission, and that war had been declared against Tigranes, returned with the utmost diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterprise seemed rash, and the terrible power of the king astonished all those who relied less upon the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general than upon a multitude of soldiers. After having made himself master of Sinope, he gave that place its liberty, as he did also to Amisus, and made them both free and independent cities. Cotta did not treat Heraclea, which he took, after a long siege, by treachery, in the same manner. He enriched himself out of its spoils, treated the inhabitants with excessive cruelty, and burned almost the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at first well received by the senate, and honoured with the surname of Ponticus, upon account of taking that place : but soon after, when the Heracleans had laid their complaints before the senate, and represented, in a manner capable of moving the hardest hearts, the miseries Cotta's avarice and cruelty had made them suffer, the senate contented themselves with depriving him of the *latus clavus*, which was the robe worn by the senators ; a punishment nowise proportioned to the crying excesses proved upon him.

Lucullus left Sornatius, one of his generals, in Pontus with 6000 men, and marched with the rest, which amounted only to 12,000 foot and 3000 horse, through Cappadocia to the Euphrates. He passed that river in the midst of winter, and afterwards

the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at some small distance, to attack Tigranes in his capital, where he had lately arrived from Syria. Nobody dared speak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after his cruel treatment of the person that brought him the first news of it, whom he put to death in reward for so important a service. He listened to nothing but the discourses of flatterers, who told him Lucullus must be a great captain, if he only dared wait for him at Ephesus, and did not betake himself to flight and abandon Asia, when he saw the many thousands of which his army was composed. So true it is, says Plutarch, that as all constitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not suited to bearing great fortunes, without loss of reason and infatuation.

Tigranes at first had not deigned so much as to see or speak to Mithridates, though his father-in-law, but treated him with the utmost contempt and arrogance, kept him at a distance, and placed a guard over him as a prisoner of state, in marshy unwholesome places. * But after Clodius's embassy, he had ordered him to be brought to court with all possible honours and marks of respect. In private conversation which they had together without witnesses, they cured themselves of their mutual suspicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they cast all the blame.

In the number of those unfortunates was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepsis, a man of extraordinary merit, who had so much credit with the king that he was called the king's father. That prince had sent him on an embassy to Tigranes, to desire aid against the Romans. When he had explained the occasion of his journey, Tigranes asked him, "and for you Metrodorus, what would you advise me to do in regard to your master's demands?" Upon which Metrodorus replied, out of an excess of ill-timed sincerity: "as an ambassador, I advise you to do what Mithridates demands of you; but as your counsel, not to do it." This was a criminal prevarication, and a kind of treason. It cost him his life, when Mithridates had been apprised of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus continually advanced against that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter; so much was he blinded by his presumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it was to be charged with a commission to go immediately with some troops, and bring Lucullus prisoner; as if the question had been only to arrest one of the king's subjects. The favourite, with the greatest part of the troops given him, lost their lives in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commission.

This ill success opened the eyes of Tigranes, and made him recover from his infatuation. Mithridates had been sent back into Pontus with 10,000 horse, to raise troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in case Lucullus entered Armenia. For himself, he had chosen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the necessary orders for raising troops throughout his whole dominions. After this check, he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to mount Taurus, and gave orders for all his troops to repair thither to him.

Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the siege of it. This city was full of all sorts of riches ; the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having emulated each other in contributing to its embellishment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king. For this reason, Lucullus pressed the siege with the utmost vigour, believing that Tigranes would never suffer it to be taken, and that he would come on in a transport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raise the siege. And he was not mistaken in his conjecture. Mithridates sent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, to advise him in the strongest terms, not to hazard a battle, and only to make use of his cavalry in cutting off Lucullus's provisions. Taxilus himself was sent by him with the same instructions, who staying with him in his camp, made earnest instances to him every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently disciplined, veteran soldiers, and almost invincible.

At first he hearkened to this advice with patience enough ; but when his troops, consisting of a great number of different nations were assembled, not only the king's feasts, but his councils, resounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of insolence, pride, and barbarian menaces. Taxilus was in danger of being killed, for having ventured to oppose the advice of those who were for a battle ; and Mithridates himself was openly accused of opposing it only out of envy, to deprive his son-in-law of the glory of so great a success.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, lest Mithridates should arrive, and share with him in the honour of the victory. He therefore marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only sorry on one account, and that was his having to do with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals together. He measured his hopes of success by the number of his troops. He had about 20,000 archers and slingers, 55,000 horse, 17,000 of which were heavy armed cavalry, 150,000 foot, divided into companies and battalions, besides workmen to clear the roads, build bridges, cleanse and turn the course of rivers, with other labourers necessary in armies, to the number of 55,000, who, drawn up in battle behind the com-

batants, made the army appear still more numerous, and augmented its force and its confidence.

When he passed mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the sight alone of his army was sufficient to strike terror into the most daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murena with 6000 foot before the place, and with all the rest of his infantry, consisting of 24 cohorts, which together did not amount to more than 16 or 12,000 men, all his horse, and about 1000 archers and slingers, marched against Tigranes, and encamped in the plain, with a large river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and supplied his flatterers with great matter for pleasantry. Some openly jested upon them; others, by way of diversion, drew lots for their spoils; and of all Tigranes's generals and the kings in his army, there was not one who did not entreat him to give the charge of that affair to him alone, and content himself with being only a spectator of the action. Tigranes himself, to appear agreeable, and a fine railler, used an expression which has been much admired: "if they come as ambassadors, they are a great many; but if as enemies, very few." Thus the first day passed in jesting and railleury.

The next morning at sun-rise, Lucullus made his army march out of their entrenchments. That of the barbarians was on the other side of the river, towards the east; and the river ran in such a manner, that a little below it turned off to the left towards the west, where it was easily fordable. Lucullus, in leading his army to this ford, inclined also to the left, towards the lower part of the river, hastening his march. Tigranes, who saw him, believed he fled; and calling for Taxilus, told him with a contemptuous laugh—"do you see those invincible Roman legions? you see they can run away." Taxilus replied, "I wish your majesty's good fortune may this day do a miracle in your favour; but the arms and march of those legions do not argue people running away."

Taxilus was still speaking when he saw the eagle of the first legion move on a sudden to the right about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to pass the river. Tigranes, recovering then with difficulty, like one that had been long drunk cried out two or three times, "how! are those people coming to us?" They came on so fast, that his numerous troops did not post themselves, nor draw up in battle without abundance of disorder and confusion. Tigranes placed himself in the centre; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabeniens, and the right to the king of the Medes. The great part of the heavy armed horse covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to pass the river, some of his ge-

neral officers advised him not to engage upon that day, because one of those unfortunate day, which the Romans called black days: for it was the same upon which the army of Scipio * had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this answer, which afterwards became so famous: "and for me, I will make this an happy day for the Romans." It was the sixth day of October, the day before the nones of October.

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not to be discouraged, he passed the river, and marched foremost against the enemy he was armed with a steel cuirass, made in the form of scales, which glittered surprisingly, under which was his coat of arms, bordered all around with a fringe. He carried his naked sword shining in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was necessary to join an enemy immediately, accustomed to fight only at a distance with their arrows, and to deprive them, by the swiftness and impetuosity of the attack, of the space required for the use of them.

Perceiving that the heavy armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill of which the summit was flat and level, and the declivity of not above 800 paces, neither much broken, nor very difficult, he saw at first view what use he had to make of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horse to charge that body of the enemy's cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aside their lances with their swords, for the principal, or rather whole force of those heavy-armed horse, consisted in their lances, which, when they had not room to use, they could do nothing either against the enemy, or for themselves; their arms being so heavy, stiff, and cumbersome, that they could not turn themselves, and were almost immovable.

Whilst his cavalry marched to execute his orders, he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageously, excited by the example of their general, whom they saw marching foremost on foot, and ascending the hill. When he was at the top, he showed himself from the highest part of it; and seeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out, "the victory is ours, fellow-soldiers, the victory is ours." At the same time, with his two cohorts he advanced against that heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his troops not to make use of their pikes, but join those horse sword in hand, and strike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed part about them. But his soldiers had not so much trouble with them. That cavalry did

* The Greek text says, the army of Scipio, which M. de Thou has justly corrected in the margin of his *Plutarch*, the army of Cæpio.

not stay their coming on, but shamefully took to flight; and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy unwieldy horses into the ranks of their foot, without joining battle at all, or so much as making a single thrust with their lances. The slaughter did not begin until they began to fly, or rather to endeavour it; for they could not do so, being prevented by their own battalions, whose ranks were so close and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king so lofty and brave in words, had taken to flight from the beginning, with a few followers; and seeing his son, the companion of his fortune he took off his diadem, weeping, and giving it him, exhorted him to save himself as well as he could, by another route. That young prince was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at such a time, and gave it into the hands of one of the most faithful of his servants, who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is said, that in this defeat more than 100,000 of the enemy's foot perished, and that very few of their horse escaped. On the side of the Romans, only five were killed, and 100 wounded. They had never engaged in a pitched battle so great a number of enemies with so few troops; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquished. The greatest and most able Roman generals, who had seen most wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praises, for having defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, delay and expedition: for, by protraction and spinning out the war, he exhausted Mithridates when he was strongest and most formidable; and ruined Tigranes by making haste, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked, that few captains have known how, like him, to make slowness active, and haste sure.

It was this latter conduct that prevented Mithridates from being present in the battle. He imagined Lucullus would use the same precaution and protraction against Tigranes, as he had done against himself; so that he marched but slowly, and by small days journies to join Tigranes. But having met some Armenians upon the way, who fled with the utmost terror and consternation, he suspected what had happened; and afterwards meeting a much greater number, was fully informed of the defeat, and went in search of Tigranes. He found him at length, abandoned by all the world, and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous treatment, and insulting Tigranes in his misfortunes, as he had done him, he quitted his horse, lamented their common disgraces, gave him the guard that attended, and the officers that served him, consoled, encouraged, and revived his hopes: so that Mithridates, upon this occasion, showed himself not entirely void of humanity. Both together applied to raising new troops on all sides.

In the mean time a furious sedition arose at Tigranocerta; the Greeks having mutinied against the barbarians, and determined at all events to deliver the city to Lucullus. That sedition was at the highest when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occasion, ordered the assault to be given, took the city, and after having seized all the king's treasures, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers; who, besides other riches, found in it 8000 talents of coined silver, about 1,200,000*l.* sterling. Besides this plunder, he gave each soldier * 8000 drachms, which, with all the booty they had taken, did not suffice to satisfy their insatiable avidity.

† As this city had been peopled by colonies, which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permission with extreme joy, and quitted it in so great a number, that from one of the greatest cities in the world, Tigranocerta became in an instant almost a desert.

‡ If Lucullus had pursued Tigranes after his victory, without giving him time to raise new troops, he would either have taken or driven him out of the country, and the war had been at an end. His having failed to do so, was very ill taken, both in the army and at Rome, and he was accused, not of negligence, but of having intended by such conduct to make himself necessary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reasons that prejudiced the generality against him, and induced them to think of giving him a successor, as we shall see in the sequel.

After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, several nations came to make their submissions to him. He received also an embassy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this proposal favourably, and sent also ambassadors to him, who being arrived at the Parthian court, discovered, that the king, uncertain which side to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had secretly demanded Mesopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this secret intrigue, resolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and turn his arms against the king of the Parthians; flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three most powerful princes under the sun. But the opposition this proposal met with from the troops, obliged him to renounce his enterprise against the Parthians, and to confine himself to pursuing Tigranes.

* About 20*l.* sterling.

† Dion. Cas. l. xxv. p. 1.

‡ Strab. l. xi. p. 532. et l. xii. p. 539.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raising new troops. They had sent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and especially of the Parthians, who were the nearest, and at the same time in the best condition to assist them in the present emergency of their affairs. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Sallust has preserved, and is to be found amongst his fragments. I shall insert a part of it in this place.

Letter of Mithridates to Arsaces king of the Parthians.*

"All those who, in a state of prosperity, are invited to enter as confederates into a war, ought first to consider, whether peace be at their option; and next, whether what is demanded of them, is consistent with justice, their interest, safety, and glory. You might enjoy perpetual peace and tranquillity, were not the enemy always intent upon seizing occasions of war, and entirely void of faith. In reducing the Romans, you cannot but acquire exalted glory. It may seem inconsistent in me, to propose to you either an alliance with Tigranes; or, powerful as you are, that you should join a prince in my unfortunate condition. But I dare advance, that those two motives, your resentment against Tigranes upon account of his late war with you, and the disadvantageous situation of my affairs, to judge rightly of them, far from opposing my demand, ought to support it. For as to Tigranes, as he knows he has given you just cause of complaint, he will accept without difficulty whatever conditions you shall think fit to impose upon him; and for me, I can say, that fortune, by having deprived me of almost all I possessed, has enabled me to give others good counsels; and, which is much to be desired in persons of prosperity, I can even from my own misfortunes supply you with examples, and induce you to take better measures than I have done. For, do not deceive yourself; it is with all the nations, states, and kingdoms of the earth, the Romans are at war; and two motives, as ancient as powerful, put their arms into their hands; the unbounded ambition of extending their conquests, and the insatiable thirst of riches." Mithridates afterwards enumerates at large the princes and kings they had reduced one after another, and often by one another. He repeats also his first successes against the Romans, and his late misfortunes. He goes on to this effect: "examine now, I beg of you, when we are finally ruined, whether you will be in a condition to resist the Romans, or can believe, that they will confine their conquests to my country? I know you are powerful in men, in arms, and treasure; it is therefore we desire to strengthen ourselves by your alliance; they, to

* Arsaces was a common name to all the kings of Parthia.

“grow rich by your spoils. For the rest, it is the intent of Tigranes (to avoid drawing the war into his own country) that we shall go with all our troops, which are certainly well disciplined, to carry our arms far from home, and attack the enemy in person in their own country. We cannot therefore either conquer or be conquered, without your being in danger. Do you not know, that the Romans, when they found themselves stopped by the ocean on the west, turned their arms this way? That to look back to their foundation and origin, whatever they have, they have from violence; home, wives, lands, and dominions. A vile herd of every kind of vagabonds, without country, without forefathers, they established themselves for the misfortune of the human race. Neither divine nor human laws restrain them from betraying and destroying their allies and friends, remote nations or neighbours, the weak or the powerful. They reckon all enemies that are not their slaves; and especially, whatever bears the name of king: for few nations effect a free and independent government; the generality prefer just and equitable masters. They suspect us, because we are said to emulate their power, and may in time avenge their oppressions. But for you, who have Seleucia, the greatest of cities, and Persia, the richest and most powerful of kingdoms, what can you expect from them, but deceit at present, and war hereafter? The Romans are at war with all nations; but especially with those from whom the richest spoils are to be expected. They are become great by enterprising, betraying, and making one war bring forth another. By this means they will either destroy all others, or be destroyed themselves. It will not be difficult to ruin them, if you, on the side of Mesopotamia, and we on that of Armenia, surround their army, without provisions or auxiliaries. The prosperity of their arms has subsisted hitherto solely by our fault, who have not been so prudent to understand this common enemy, and to ally ourselves against him. It will be for your immortal glory to have supported two great kings, and to have conquered and destroyed those robbers of the world. This is what I earnestly advise and exhort you to do; that you may choose rather to share with us by a salutary alliance, in conquering the common enemy, than to suffer the Roman empire to extend itself universally by our ruin.”

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates Mithridates might have hoped from it: so that the two kings contented themselves with their own troops.

* One of the means made use of by Tigranes to assemble a

* Appian. in Syr. p. 118, 119.

new army, was to recal Megadatus from Syria who had governed it 14 years in his name : him he sent orders to join him with all the troops in that country. † Syria being thereby entirely ungarrisoned, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, to whom it of right appertained, as lawful heir of the house of Seleucus, took possession of some part of the country, and reigned there peaceably during four years.

‡ The army of Tigranes and Mithridates was at last formed. It consisted of 70,000 chosen men, whom Mithridates had exercised well in the Roman discipline. It was about midsummer before he took the field. The two kings took particular care in all the motions they made, to choose an advantageous ground for their camp, and to fortify it well, to prevent Lucullus's attacking them in it ; nor could all the stratagems he used engage them to come to a battle. Their design was to reduce him gradually ; to harass his troops on their marches, in order to weaken them ; to intercept his convoys, and oblige him to quit the country for want of provisions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could use, to bring them into the open field, employed a new means, which succeeded. Tigranes had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children, as he had almost all his treasures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly foreseeing that Tigranes would not remain quiet, when he saw the danger to which his capital was exposed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to disconcert his design, and by four great marches having got before him, posted himself behind the river * Arsamia, which Lucullus was obliged to pass in his way to Artaxata, and resolved to dispute the passage with him. The Romans passed the river without being prevented by the presence or efforts of the enemy. A great battle ensued ; in which the Romans again obtained a complete victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worst : for not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as soon as they charged, he was one of the first that fled ; which threw the whole army into such a consternation, that it entirely lost courage ; and this was the principal cause of the loss of the battle.

Lucullus, after this victory, determined to continue his march to Artaxata ‡, which was the certain means to put an end to the war : but as that city was still several days journey from thence towards the north, and winter approached, by its train of snows and storms, the § soldiers, already fatigued by a sufficiently rude

† Justin. l. xl. c. 2.

‡ A. M. 5996. Ant. J. C. 68. Plut. in Lucul. p. 513—515.

* Or Asania.

§ Dion. Cass. l. xxxvii. p. 5—7.

¶ Noster exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, et paulo

campaign refused to follow him into that country, where the cold was too severe for them. He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came. He therefore repassed mount Taurus, and entered Mesopotamia, where he took the city of Nisibis, a place of considerable strength and put his troops into winter quarters.

It was there the spirit of mutiny began to show itself openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's severity, and the insolent liberty of the Roman soldiers, and still more the malignant practices of Clodius, had given occasion for this revolt. Clodius, so well known for the invectives of Cicero his enemy, is hardly treated better by historians: They represent him as a man, abandoned to all kind of vices, and infamous for his debauches, which he carried so far as to commit incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus: to these he added unbounded vivacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of seditions: in a word, he was one of those dangerous persons born to disturb and ruin every thing, by the unhappy union in himself of the most wicked inclinations, with the talents necessary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occasion we are now speaking. Discontented with Lucullus, he secretly spread reports against him, calculated to render him odious: he affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the soldiers, and to enter into their interests. He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate, in being obliged to serve so long under a severe and avaricious general in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, whilst their fellow-soldiers, whose conquests were very moderate in comparison with theirs, had enriched themselves under Pompey. Discourses of this kind, attended with obliging and popular behaviour, which he knew how to assume occasionally without the appearance of affectation, made such an impression upon the soldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates in the mean time had re-entered Pontus with 4000 of his own, and 4000 troops given him by Tigraeus. Several inhabitants of the country joined him again, as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigour, as the remains of affection for their king, reduced to

usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum, ac desiderio suorum commovebatur. Cic. pro lege M&ar. n. 22.

* Mithridates et quam manum jam confirmaret, et eorum qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, et magnis adventitiis multorum regnum et nationum copius juvabatur. Hoc jam fere sic fieri solere accepimus; ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes alliceant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges sunt, aut vivant in regno: quod regale iis nomen magnum et sanctum esse videatur. Cic. pro lege Man. n. 24.

the mournful condition in which they saw him, from the most splendid fortune and exalted greatness: for the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compassion, and there is generally a profound respect in the hearts of the people for the name and person of kings. Mithridates, encouraged and strengthened by these new aids, and the troops which several neighbouring states and princes sent him, resumed courage, and saw himself more than ever in a condition to make head against the Romans: * so that, not contented with being re-established in his dominions, which a moment before he did not so much as hope ever to see again, he had the boldness to attack the Roman troops so often victorious, beat a body of them commanded by Fabius, and after having put them to the rout, pressed Friarius and Sornatius, two other of Lucullus's lieutenancy in that country, with great vigour.

Lucullus at length engaged his soldiers to quit their winter-quarters, and to go to their aid. But they arrived too late†, Friarius had imprudently ventured a battle, in which Mithridates had defeated him, and killed 7000 men; amongst whom were reckoned 150 centurions, and 24 tribunes‡, which made this one of the greatest losses the Romans had sustained a great while. The army had been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to escape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, and did not give orders for their interment; which still more exasperated his soldiers against him. The spirit of revolt rose so high, that without any regard for his character as a general, they treated him no longer but with insolence and contempt; and though he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to conjure them to march against Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They answered him brutally, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himself alone out of the spoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them if he thought fit.

* Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat; ut eam, postea quam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret; sed in exercitum vestrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit. Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 25.

† A. M. 3937. Ant. J. C. 67.

‡ Quæ calamitas tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli, non ex prælio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 25.

SECTION IV.

MITHRIDATES RECOVERS ALL HIS DOMINIONS.—POMPEY
OVERTHROWS HIM IN SEVERAL BATTLES.

Manius Acilius Glabrio, and C. Piso, had been elected consuls at Rome. The first had Bithypia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus commanded. The senate at the same time disbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the disobedience and insolence of the troops in regard to Lucullus.

* It is true, his rough, austere, and frequently haughty disposition, gave some room for such usage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greatest captains of his age, and of having had almost all the qualities that form a complete general, but the want of one diminished the merit of all the rest; I mean, address in winning the heart, and making himself beloved by the soldiers. He was difficult of access; rough in commanding; carried exactitude in point of duty to an excess that made it odious; was inexorable in punishing offences; and did not know how to conciliate esteem by praises and rewards bestowed opportunely, an air of kindness and favour, and insinuating manners, still more efficacious than either gifts or praises. And what proves that the sedition of the troops was in a great measure his own fault, was their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.

In consequence of the letters Lucullus wrote to the senate, in which he acquainted them that Mithridates was entirely defeated and utterly incapable of retrieving himself, commissioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much surprised to find upon their arrival, that, far from being master of Pontus, he was not so much as master of his army, and that his own soldiers treated him with the utmost contempt.

The arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio still added to their licentiousness. † He informed them, that Lucullus had been accused at Rome of protracting the war for the sake of continuing in command; that the senate had disbanded part of his troops and forbade them paying him any further obedience: so that he found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers. Mithridates, taking advantage of this disorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make ravages in Cappadocia.

* Dion. in Cass. l. xxxv. p. 7.

† In ipso illo mallo gravissimaque belli offensione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactas, quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum, veteri exemplo, putavistis partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit.

Whilst the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise was made at Rome against Lucullus. Pompey was returned from putting an end to the war with the pirates, in which an extraordinary power had been granted him. Upon this occasion, one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, passed a decree to this effect: "that Pompey, taking upon him the command of all the troops and provinces which were under Lucullus, and adding to them Bithynia, where Acilius commanded, should be charged with making war upon the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, retaining under him all the naval forces, and continuing to command at sea with the same conditions and prerogatives as had been granted him in the war against the pirates: that is to say, that he should have absolute power on all the coasts of the Mediterranean, to 30 leagues distant from the sea." This was in effect subjecting the whole Roman empire to one man; for all the provinces which had not been granted him by the first decree, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia the Higher, Colchis, and Armenia, were conferred upon him by this second, that included also all the armies and forces with which Lucullus had defeated the two kings Mithridates and Tigranes.

Consideration for Lucullus, who was deprived of the glory of his great exploits, and in the place of whom a general was appointed, to succeed more to the honours of his triumph, than the command of his armies, was not, however, what gave the nobility and the senate most concern. They were well convinced that great wrong was done him, and that his services were not treated with the gratitude they deserved: but what gave them most pain, and they could not support, was that high degree of power to which Pompey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny already formed. It was for this reason they exhorted each other in a particular manner to oppose this decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæsar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with all their credit. It was upon this occasion the latter pronounced the fine oration before the people, intitled, "for the law of Manilius." After having demonstrated, in the two first parts of his discourse, the necessity and importance of the war in question, he proves in the third, that Pompey is the only person capable of terminating it successfully. For this purpose he enumerates the qualities necessary to form a general of an army, and shews that Pompey possesses them all in a supreme degree. He insists principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, disinterestedness, love of the public good; "virtues, by so much the more necessary," says he, "as the Roman name is become infamous and hateful amongst foreign nations, and our allies, in effect of the debauches, avarice, and unheard-of op-

"pressions of the generals and magistrates we send amongst them". † Instead of which the wise, moderate, and irreproachable conduct of Pompey, will make him be regarded not only as sent from Rome, but descended from heaven, for the happiness of the people. We begin to believe, that all which is related of the noble disinterestedness of those ancient Romans is real and true; and that it is not without reason, under such magistrates, that nations chose rather to obey the Roman people, than to command others."

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people; wherefore the fear of displeasing the multitude kept those grave senators silent, who had appeared so well inclined, and so full of courage. The decree was authorised by the suffrages of all the tribes, and Pompey, though absent, declared absolute master of almost all Syria had usurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

‡ We must not imagine, says a very judicious historian, that either Cæsar or Cicero, who took so much pains to have this law passed, acted from views of the public good. Cæsar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whose authority he knew was at that time much greater than the senate's: he thereby opened himself a way to the same power, and familiarised the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commissions. In heaping upon the head of Pompey so many favours and glaring distinctions, he flattered himself that he should at length render him odious to the people, who would soon take offence at them; so that in lifting him up, he had no other design than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero also intended only his own greatness. It was his weakness to desire to lord it in the commonwealth, not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of persuasion. Besides his having the support of Pompey's credit in view, he was very well pleased with shewing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and in a manner two republics in the state, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the side he espoused.

* *Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud cæteras nationes, propter eorum quos ad eas hoc anno cum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines.* Num. 61.

† *Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cælo delapsum, intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinencia quod jam nationibus cæteris incredibile, ac falso memoriæ proditum videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet; nunc intelligunt, non sine causa majores suos tum, cum hac temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis maluisse.* Ibid. n. 41.

‡ *Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 20, 21.*

In consequence, it was always his policy to conciliate equally both parties, in declaring sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other.

*Pompey, who had already terminated the war with the pirates, was still in Cilicia, when he received letters to inform him of all the people had decreed in his favour. When his friends, who were present, congratulated him, and expressed their joy, it is said that he knit his brows, struck his thigh, and cried, as if oppressed by, and sorry for, that new command: "Gods, what endless labours am I devoted to! Had I not been more happy as a man unknown and inglorious? Shall I never cease to make war, nor ever have my arms off my back? Shall I never escape the envy that persecutes me, nor live at peace in the country with my wife and children?"

This is usually enough the language of the ambitious, even of those who are most excessively actuated by that passion. But however successful they may be in imposing upon themselves, it seldom happens that they deceive others; and the public is far from mistaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even those who were most intimate with him, could not support his dissimulation at this time; for there was not one of them who did not know, that his natural ambition and passion for command, still more inflamed by his difference with Lucullus, made him find a more exalted and sensible satisfaction in the new charge conferred upon him: and his actions soon took off the mask, and explained his real sentiments.

The first step which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government, was to forbid any obedience whatsoever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march he altered every thing his predecessor had decreed. He discharged some from the penalties Lucullus had laid upon them; deprived others of the rewards he had given them; in short, his sole view in every thing was to let the partisans of Lucullus see that they adhered to a man who had neither authority nor power. Strabo's uncle by the mother's side, highly discontented with Mithridates for having put to death several of his relations, to avenge himself for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus, and given up 15 places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promised to reward him as such considerable services deserved. Pompey, far from having any regard for such just and reasonable engagements, which his predecessor had entered into solely from the view of the public good, affected an universal opposition to them, and looked upon all those as his enemies who had contracted any friendship with Lucullus.

It is not uncommon for a successor to endeavour to lessen the value of his predecessor's actions, in order to arrogate all honour

to himself ; but certainly none ever carried that conduct to such monstrous excess as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conquests are exceedingly extolled ; but so base and odious a jealousy ought to sully, or rather totally eclipse the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of him. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It passed at first with all possible politeness, and with reciprocal marks of esteem and amity ; but these were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips, which costs the great nothing. The heart soon explained itself. The conversation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to injurious terms ; Pompey reproached Lucullus with his avarice, and Lucullus Pompey with his ambition, in which they spoke the truth of each other. They parted more incensed and greater enemies than before.

Lucullus set out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conquests. He put them into a library, which was open to all the learned and curious, whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his house with all possible politeness and generosity. The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucullus ; but not without being long contested.

It was he at first brought cherries to Rome, which till then had been unknown in Europe. They were called *cerasus*, from a city of that name in Cappadocia.

Pompey began by engaging Phraates king of the Parthians in the Roman interest. He has been spoken of already, and is the same who was surnamed the god. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with him. He offered peace also to Mithridates ; but that prince believing himself sure of the amity and aid of Phraates, would not so much as hear it mentioned. When he was informed that Pompey had prevented him, he sent to treat with him ; but Pompey having demanded by way of preliminary, that he should lay down his arms and give up all deserters ; those proposals were very near occasioning a mutiny in Mithridates's army. As there were abundance of deserters in it, they could not suffer any thing to be said upon delivering them up to Pompey ; nor would the rest of the army consent to see themselves weakened by the loss of their comrades. Mithridates was obliged to tell them, that he had sent his ambassadors only to inspect into the condition of the Roman army ; and to swear that he would not make peace with the Romans, either on those or on any other conditions.

Pompey having distributed his fleet in different stations to guard the whole sea between Phœnicia, and the Bosphorus,

marched by land against Mithridates, who had still 30,000 foot, and 2 or 3000 horse ; but did not dare however to come to a battle. That prince was encamped very strongly upon a mountain, where he could not be forced ; but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach for want of water. Pompey immediately took possession of it ; and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants, and other signs, that there was abundance of springs within it, he ordered wells to be dug ; and in an instant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not sufficiently wonder how Mithridates, for want of attention and curiosity, had been so long ignorant of so important and necessary a resource.

Soon after, he followed him, encamped near him, and shut him up within good walls, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almost eight leagues in circumference, and were fortified with good towers, at proper distances from each other. Mithridates, either through fear or negligence, suffered him to finish his works. He reduced him in consequence to such want of provisions, that his troops were obliged to subsist upon the carriage beasts in their camp. The horses only were spared. After having sustained this kind of siege for almost fifty days, Mithridates escaped by night, with all the best troops of his army, having first ordered all the useless and sick persons to be killed.

Pompey immediately pursued him ; and apprehending that, in order to escape, he would make haste to pass the river, he quit- ted his intrenchments, and advanced against him by night in order of battle. His design was only to surround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at day break the next morning ; but all his old officers made such entreaties and remonstrances to him, that they determined him to fight without waiting till day ; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for distinguishing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not refuse himself to the ardour of his troops, and led them on against the enemy. The barbarians were afraid to stand the attack, and fled immediately in the utmost consternation. The Romans made a great slaughter of them, killed above 10,000 men, and took their whole camp.

Mithridates, with 800 horse, in the beginning of the battle, opened himself a way sword in hand through the Roman army, and went off ; but those 800 horse soon quitted their ranks and dispersed, and left him with only three followers, of which number was Hypsicatia, one of his wives, a woman of masculine courage and warlike boldness ; which occasioned her being called Hypsicrates, by changing the termination of her name from the feminine to the masculine. She was mounted that day upon a Persian horse, and wore the habit of a soldier of that nation. She continued to attend the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his journeys, or being weary of serving him, though

she took care of his horse herself, till they arrived at a fortress where the king's treasures and most precious effects lay. There, after having distributed the most magnificent of his robes to such as were assembled about him, he made a present to each of his friends of a mortal poison, that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own consent.

That unhappy fugitive saw no other hopes for him, but from his son-in-law Tigranes. He sent ambassadors to demand his permission to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-establishment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his son. He caused those ambassadors to be seized and thrown into prison, and set a price upon his father-in-law's head, promising 100 talents to whomsoever should seize or kill him, under pretence that it was Mithridates who made his son take up arms against him, but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we shall soon see.

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched into Armenia Major against Tigranes. He found him at war with his son of his own name. We have observed, that the king of Armenia had espoused Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. He had three sons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reason. The third to escape the cruelty of so unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates, king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married. His father-in-law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they besieged Artaxata. But finding the place very strong, and provided with every thing necessary for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army for carrying on the siege, and returned with the rest into his own dominions. Tigranes the father soon after fell upon the son with all his troops, beat his army, and drove him out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had designed to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates; but on the way was informed of his defeat; and having lost all hopes of obtaining aid from him, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming; for being to carry the war into Armenia, he had occasion for such a guide as him. He therefore caused that prince to carry him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and sensible that he was not in a condition to oppose so powerful an army, resolved to have recourse to the generosity and clemency of the Roman general. He put the ambassadors sent to him by Mithridates into his hands, and followed them directly himself. Without taking any precaution he entered the Roman camp, and went to submit his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans. He said, that of all the Romans, and of all mankind, Pompey was the only person in whose faith he could confide; that in

whatsoever manner he should decide his fate, he should be satisfied ; that he was not ashamed to be conquered by a man whom none could conquer ; and that it was no dishonour to submit to him, whom fortune had made superior to all others.

When he arrived on horseback near the intrenchments of the camp, two of Pompey's lictors came out to meet him, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot ; telling him, that no stranger had ever been known to enter a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes obeyed, and ungirt his sword, gave it to the lictors ; and after, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself on the earth to embrace his knees ; but Pompey ran to prevent him, and taking him by the hand, led him into his tent, made him sit on the right, and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. He deferred hearing what he had to say to the next day, and invited the father and son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father ; and as he had not showed him the least mark of respect during the interview, and had treated him with the same indifference as if he had been a stranger, Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not, however, entirely neglect his interests in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans 6000 talents (about 900,000*l.* sterling) for the charges of the war he had made against them without cause, and to relinquish to them all his conquests on that side of the Euphrates, he decreed, that he should reign in his ancient kingdom, Armenia Major, and that his son should have Gordiana and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia, during his father's life, and all the rest of his dominions after his death ; reserving, however, to the father, the treasures he had in Sophena, without which it had been impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sum Pompey required of him.

The father was well satisfied with these conditions, which still left him a crown : but the son, who had entertained chimerical hopes, could not relish a decree which deprived him of what had been promised him. He was even so much discontented with it, that he wanted to escape, in order to excite new troubles. Pompey, who suspected his design, ordered him to be always kept in view ; and upon his absolutely refusing to consent that his father should withdraw his treasures from Sophena, he caused him to be put in prison. Afterwards, having discovered, that he solicited the Armenian nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the same, he put him amongst those he reserved for his triumph.

Some time after, Phraates, king of the Parthians, sent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his son-in-law, and to represent to him, that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conquests. Pompey made answer, that the

younger Tigranes was more related to his father than to his father-in-law ; and that as to his conquests, he should give them such bounds as reason and justice required, but without being prescribed them by any one.

When Tigranes had been suffered to possess himself of his treasures in Sophena, he paid the 6000 talents, and besides that, gave every private soldier 50 drachms (about 22s. sterling), 1000 to a centurion (about 25l.), and 10,000 (about 250l.), to each tribune ; and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This had been pardonable had he not added to it abject behaviour and submissions unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added to it Sophena and Gordiana which he had designed for young Tigranes.

After having regulated every thing in Armenia, Pompey marched northwards in pursuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the * Cyrus he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations ; situated between the Caspian and Euxine seas, who endeavoured to stop him ; but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and passed the winter in their country.

† The next year he took the field very early against the Iberians. This was a very warlike nation, and had never been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians, had alternately possessed the empire of Asia. Pompey found means to subdue this people, though not without considerable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians, sent him a bed, a table, and a throne all of gold ; desiring him to accept those presents as earnest of his amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the quaestors for the public treasury. He also subjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Olthaces prisoner whom he afterward led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chastise that nation for having taken up arms again, while he was engaged with the Iberians and people of Colchis.

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Cosis, the brother of king Orôdes. That prince, as soon as the two armies came to blows, confined himself to Pompey, and spurring furiously up to him, darted his javelin at him : but Pompey received him so vigorously with his spear, that it went through his body, and laid him dead at his horse's feet. The Albanians were overthrown, and a great slaughter was made of them.

* Called Cyrrus also by some authors.

† A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

This victory obliged king Orodes to buy a second peace upon the same terms with that he had made with the Romans the year before, at the price of great presents, and by giving one of his sons as an hostage for his observing it better than he had done the former.

Mithridates in the mean time, had passed the winter at Dioscurias, in the north-east of the Euxine sea. Early in the spring he marched to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, through several nations of the Scythians, some of which suffered him to pass voluntarily, and others were compelled to it by force. The kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same now called Crim-Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridates's empire. He had given it as a appanage to one of his sons, named Machares; but that young prince had been so vigorously handled by the Romans, whilst they besieged Sinope, and their fleet was in possession of the Euxine sea, which lay between that city, and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, and had inviolably observed it till then. He well knew that his father was extremely displeased with such conduct, and therefore very much apprehended his presence. In order to a reconciliation, he sent ambassadors to him upon his route, who represented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the necessity of his affairs; but finding that his father would not hearken to his reasons, he endeavoured to save himself by sea, and was taken by vessels sent expressly by Mithridates to cruise in his way. He chose rather to die than to fall into his father's hands.

Pompey having terminated the war in the north, and seeing it impossible to follow Mithridates in the remote country into which he had retired, led back his army to the south, and on his march subjected Darius, king of the Medes, and Antiochus, king of Comagena. He went on to Syria, and made himself master of the whole empire. Scaurus reduced Coelosyria and Damascus, and Gabinius all the rest of the country, as far as the Tygris: they were his lieutenant-generals. * Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, heir of the house of the Seleucides, who, by Lucullus's permission, had reigned four years in part of that country, of which he had taken possession when Tigranes abandoned it, came to solicit him to re-establish him upon the throne of his ancestors. But Pompey refused to give him audience, and deprived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province. Thus, whilst Tigranes was left in possession of Armenia, who had done the Romans great hurt, during the course of a long war, Antiochus was dethroned, who had never committed the least hostility, and by no means deserved such treatment. The reason given for it

* Ap. in Syr. p. 153. Justin. l. xl. c. 2.

was, that the Romans had conquered Syria under Tigranes ; that it was not just they should lose the fruit of their victory ; that Antiochus was a prince, who had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for the defence of the country ; and that to put it into his hands, would be to expose it to the perpetual ravages and incursions of the Jews, which Pompey took care not to do. In consequence of this way of reasoning, Antiochus lost his crown, and was reduced to the necessity of passing his life as a private person. † In him ended the empire of the Seleucides, after a duration of almost 250 years.

During these expeditions of the Romans in Asia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms, and after having expelled him, called in Ptolemy Auletes to supply his place. That history will be treated at large in the ensuing book.

Pompey afterwards went to Damascus, where he regulated several affairs relating to Egypt and Judæa. During his residence there, twelve crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the same time.

A fine contention between the love of a father and the duty of a son was seen at this time : a very extraordinary contest in those days, when the most horrid murders and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of his son, and put the diadem upon his head in the presence of Pompey. The most sincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the truly afflicted son, for what others would have highly rejoiced. It was the sole occasion on which he thought disobedience allowable ; and he would have persisted in refusing the sceptre, if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him to submit to paternal authority. This is the second example Cappadocia has instanced of so generous a dispute. We have spoken in its place of the like contest between the two Ariarathes.

As Mithridates was in possession of several strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it necessary to return thither in order to reduce them. He made himself master of almost all of them in consequence upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Aspis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of Mithridates's wives, surrendered a castle of the Bosphorus, which she had in her keeping, to Pompey, with treasures concealed in it, demanding only for recompense, if her son Xiphares should fall into his hands, that he should be restored to her. Pompey accepted only such of those presents as would serve for the ornaments of temples. When Mithridates knew what Stratonice had done, to revenge her fa-

† A. M. 3989. Ant. J. C. 65.

cility in surrendering that fortress, which he considered as a treason, he killed Xiphares in his mother's sight, who beheld that sad spectacle from the other side of the strait.

Caina, or the new city, was the strongest place in Pontus, and therefore Mithridates kept the greatest part of his treasures, and whatever he had of greatest value, in that place, which he conceived impregnable. Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Amongst other things were found secret memoirs written by himself, which gave a very good light into his character. In one part he had noted down the persons he had poisoned, amongst whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcaeus of Sardis; the latter, because he had carried the prize in the chariot-race against him. What fantastical records were these! Was he afraid that the public and posterity should not be informed of his monstrous crimes, and his motives for committing them?

His memoirs of physic were also found there, which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Lenæus, a good grammarian, one of his freedmen; and they were afterwards made public in that language: for amongst the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he was very skilful in medicines. It was he who invented the excellent antidote, which still bears his name, and from which physicians have experienced such effects, that they continue to use it successfully to this day.

* Pompey, during his stay at Aspis, made such regulations in the affairs of the country, as the state of them would admit. As soon as the spring returned, he marched back into Syria for the same purpose. He did not think it advisable to pursue Mithridates into the kingdom of Bosphorus, whither he was returned. To do that, he must have marched round the Euxine sea with an army, and passed through many countries, either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely desert; a very dangerous enterprise, in which he would have run great risk of perishing: so that all Pompey could do was to post the Roman fleet in such a manner as to intercept any convoys that might be sent to Mithridates. He believed by that means he should be able to reduce him to the last extremity; and said, on setting out, that he left Mithridates more formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and necessity.

What carried him with so much ardour into Syria, was his excessive and vain-glorious ambition to push his conquests as far as the Red sea. In Spain, and before that, in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as far as the western ocean on both sides of the straits of the Mediterranean. In the war against the Albanians, he had extended his conquests to the Caspian sea, and believed there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to

push them as far as the Red sea. Upon his arrival in Syria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia, upon the Orontes, free cities, and continued his march towards Damascus; from whence he designed to have gone on against the Arabians, and afterwards to have conquered all the countries to the Red sea; but an accident happened, which obliged him to suspend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

Some time before, an embassy came to him from Mithridates, king of Pontus, who demanded peace. He proposed that he should be suffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of paying a tribute to the Romans, and resigning all other provinces. Pompey replied, that then he should also come in person, as Tigranes had done. Mithridates could not consent to such a meanness, but proposed sending his children, and some of his principal friends. Pompey would not agree to that. The negotiation broke up, and Mithridates applied himself to making preparations for war with as much vigour as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it necessary to be upon the spot, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpose, he went to pass some time at Amisus, the ancient capital of the country. There, through the just punishment of the gods, says, Plutarch, his ambition made him commit faults, which drew upon him the blame of all the world. He had publicly charged and reproached Lucullus, that, subsisting the war, he had disposed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accustomed to act, till a war be finally terminated; and now he fell into the same inconsistency himself: for he disposed of governments, and divided the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had been at an end. But Mithridates still lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince, inexhaustible in resources, whom the greatest defeats could not disconcert, and whom losses themselves seemed to inspire with new courage, and to supply with new forces. At that very time, when he was believed to be entirely ruined, he actually meditated a terrible invasion into the very heart of the Roman empire with the troops he had lately raised.

Pompey, in the distribution of rewards, gave Armenia Minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman interests during this war; to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus, who, by always persisting, out of gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the resentment of Cæsar, and had occasion for the eloquence of Cicero to defend him.

He made Archelaus also high-priest of the Moon, who was the supreme goddess of the Comanians, and gave him the sovereignty of the place, which contained at least 6000 persons, all devoted to the worship of that deity. I have already observed,

that this Archelaus was the son of him who had commanded in chief the troops sent by Mithridates into Greece in his first war with the Romans, and who, being disgraced by that prince, had, with his son, taken refuge amongst them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great use to them in the wars of Asia. The father being dead, the high-priesthood of Comana was given to his son, in recompense for the services of both.

During Pompey's stay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea, took the advantage of his absence to make incursions into Syria, which very much distressed the inhabitants. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where lay the dead bodies of the Romans killed in the defeat of Triarius. He caused them to be interred with great solemnity, which gained him the hearts of his soldiers. From thence he continued his march towards Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia : but important advices interrupted those designs.

Though Mithridates had lost all hopes of peace, after Pompey had rejected the overtures he had caused to be made to him and though he saw many of his subjects abandon his party, far from losing courage, he had formed the design of crossing Pannonia, and passing the Alps to attack the Romans in Italy itself, as Hannibal had done before him : a project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind despair inspired him. A great number of neighbouring Scythians had entered themselves into his service, and considerably augmented his army. He had sent deputies into Gaul to solicit that people to join him, when he should approach the Alps. As great passions are always credulous, and men easily flatter themselves in what they ardently desire, he was in hopes that the flame of the revolt among the slaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguished, might suddenly rekindle upon his presence ; that the pirates would soon repossess themselves of the empire of the sea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties ; and that the provinces, oppressed by the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and generals, would be fond of throwing off the yoke, by his aid, under which they had so long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he had revolved in his mind.

But as, to execute this project, it was necessary to march 500 leagues, and traverse the countries now called Little Tartary, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, Tyrol, and Lombardy, and pass three great rivers, the Borysthenes, Danube, and Po ; the idea alone of so rude and dangerous a march threw his army into such a terror, that, to prevent the execution of his design, they conspired against him, and chose Pharnaces his son king, who had been active in exciting the soldiers to this revolt. Mithridates then seeing himself abandoned

by all the world, and that even his son would not suffer him to escape where he could, retired to his apartment ; and after having given poison to such of his wives and daughters as were with him at that time, he took the same himself ; but when he perceived that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourse to his sword. The wound he gave himself not sufficing, he was obliged to desire a Gaulish soldier to put an end to his life. Dion says he was killed by his own son.

Mithridates had reigned 60 years, and lived 78. His greatest fear was to fall into the hands of the Romans, and to be led in triumph. To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poison about him, in order to escape that way, if other means should fail. The apprehension he was in, lest his son should deliver him up to Pompey, occasioned his taking the fatal resolution he executed so suddenly. It was generally said, the reason that the poison did not kill him, was his having taken antidotes so much, that his constitution was proof against it. But this is believed an error ; and it is impossible any remedy should be an universal antidote against all the different species of poison.

Pompey was at Jericho in Palestine, whither the differences between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, of which we have spoken elsewhere, had carried him, when he received the first news of Mithridates's death. It was brought him by expresses dispatched on purpose from Pontus with letters from his lieutenant. Those expresses arriving with their lances crowned with laurels, which was customary only when they brought advice of some victory, or news of great importance and advantage, the army was very eager and solicitous to know what it was. As they had only begun to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal, from which the general harangued the troops, without staying to raise one of turf as was usual, because that would take up too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage horses, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death of Mithridates, and the manner of his killing himself ; that his son Pharnaces submitted himself and dominions to the Romans, and thereby that tedious war, which had endured so long, was at length terminated. This gave both the army and general great subject to rejoice.

Such was the end of Mithridates : a prince of whom it is difficult either to speak or be silent. Full of activity in war, of distinguished courage, and sometimes very great by fortune, and always of invincible resolution ; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier in action and danger ; a second Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero says of Mithridates that after Alexander he was the greatest of kings : * *Ille rex post Alexandrum maximus.* It is

* Academ. Quæst. l. iv. n. 8.

certain, that the Romans had never such a king in arms against them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities ; a vast extent of mind, that aspired at every thing ; a superiority of genius, capable of the greatest undertakings ; a constancy of soul, that the severest misfortunes could not depress ; an industry and bravery, inexhaustible in resources, and which, after the greatest losses, brought him again on the stage on a sudden, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe that he was a consummate general ; that idea does not seem to result from his actions. He obtained great advantages at first ; but against generals without either merit or experience. When Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, opposed him, it does not appear he acquired any great honour, either by his address in posting himself to advantage, by his presence of mind in unexpected emergency, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But should we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain, he could not but be considered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders and parricides of his reign, and that inhuman cruelty, which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition.

Pompey being arrived in Syria, went directly to Damascus, with design to set out from thence to begin at length the war with Arabia. When Aretas, the king of that country, saw him upon the point of entering his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions.

The troubles of Judæa employed Pompey some time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he set out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Amisus, he found the body of Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his son had sent him ; no doubt to convince Pompey by his own eyes of the death of an enemy who had occasioned so many difficulties and fatigues. He had added great presents, in order to incline him in his favour. Pompey accepted the presents ; but for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity to be extinguished in death, he did it all the honours due to the remains of a king, sent it to the city of Sinope to be interred there with the kings of Pontus his ancestors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the sums that were necessary for the solemnity of a royal funeral.

In this last journey, he took possession of all the places in the hands of those to whom Mithridates had confided them. He found immense riches in some of them, especially at Telaurus, where part of Mithridates's most valuable effects and precious jewels were kept : his principal arsenal was also in the same place. Amongst those rich things were 2000 cups of onyx, set and adorned with gold ; with so prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, fine moveables, and furniture of war for man and

horse, that it cost the quæstor, or treasurer of the army, thirty days entire in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus in reward of his parricide, declared him friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Asia, in order to winter at Ephesus. He gave each of his soldiers 1500 drachms, (about 57l. sterling) and to the officers according to their several posts. The total sum to which his liberalities amounted, all raised out of the spoils of the enemy, was 16,000 talents; that is to say, about 2,400,000l.; besides which, he had 20,000 more (3,000,000l.) to put into the treasury at Rome upon the day of his entry.

His triumph continued two days, and was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. Pompey caused 324 captives of the highest distinction to march before his chariot; among whom were Aristobulus, king of Judæa, with his son Antigonus; Olthaces, king of Colchis; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes king of Armenia; the sister, five sons, and two daughters of Mithridates. For want of that king's person, his throne, sceptre, and gold bust of eight cubits, or 12 feet in height, were carried in triumph.

BOOK XXIII.

THE HISTORY OF EGYPT.

PLAN.

THIS book contains the history of 35 years, from the beginning of the reign of Ptolemæus Auletes, to the death of Cleopatra, with which ended the kingdom of Egypt ; that is to say, from the year of the world 3939, to 3974.

SECTION I.

PTOLEMÆUS AULETES HAD BEEN PLACED UPON THE
THRONE OF EGYPT IN THE ROOM OF ALEXANDER.

WE * have seen in what manner Ptolemæus Auletes ascended the throne of Egypt. Alexander his predecessor, upon his being expelled by his subjects, withdrew to Tyre, where he died some time after. As he left no issue, nor any other legitimate prince of the blood royal, he made the Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the reasons I have repeated elsewhere, did not judge it proper at that time to take possession of the dominions left them by Alexander's will ; but to show that they did not renounce their right, they resolved to call in part of the inheritance, and sent deputies to Tyre, to demand a sum of money left there by that king at his death.

The pretensions of the Roman people were under no restrictions ; and it had been a very insecure establishment to possess a state, to which they believed they had so just a claim ; unless some means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. To get himself declared an ally by the Romans, was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But how much the more important that qualification was to him, so much the more difficult was it for him to obtain it. His predecessor's will was still fresh in the memory of every body ; and as princes are seldom pardoned for defects that do not suit their condition, though they are often spared for those that are much

* A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 66.

more hurtful, the surname of "player on the flute," which he had drawn upon himself, had ranked him as low in the esteem of the Romans as before in that of the Egyptians.

* He did not, however, despair of success in his undertakings. All the methods which he took for the attainment of his end, were a long time ineffectual; and it is likely they would have always been so, if Cæsar had never been consul. That ambitious spirit, who believed all means and expedients just that conduced to his ends, being immensely in debt, and finding that king disposed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, sold him the alliance of Rome at as dear a price as he was willing to buy it; and received for the purchase, as well for himself as for Pompey, whose credit was necessary to him for obtaining the people's consent, almost 6000 talents, that is to say, almost 900,000*l*. At this price, he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.

† Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this sum, he could not immediately raise the money, without exceedingly overtaxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented by his not claiming the isle of Cyprus as an ancient appanage of Egypt, and in case of refusal declaring war against the Romans. In this disposition the extraordinary imposts he was obliged to exact, having finally exasperated them, they rose with so much violence, that he was forced to fly for the security of his life. He concealed his route so well, that the Egyptians either believed, or feigned to believe, that he had perished. They declared Berenice, the eldest of his three daughters, queen, though he had two sons, because they were both much younger than her.

‡ Ptolemy, however, having landed at the isle of Rhodes, which was in his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who after his death was called Cato of Utica, was also arrived there some time before. That prince, being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, sent immediately to let him know of his arrival; expecting that he would come directly to visit him. We may see here an instance of Roman grandeur, or rather haughtiness. Cato ordered him to be told, that if he had any thing to say to him, he might come to him if he thought fit. Cato did not vouchsafe so much as to rise, when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and saluting him only as a common man, bade him sit down. The king though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but admire, how so much haughtiness and state could unite in the same person with the simplicity and modesty that appeared in his habit and all his equipage. But

* Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. 54. Dio. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

† A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 38. ‡ Plut. in Cato. Utic. p. 776.

he was very much surprised, when, upon explaining himself, Cato blamed him in direct terms, for quitting the finest kingdom in the world, to expose himself to the pride and insatiable avarice of the Roman grandees, and to suffer a thousand indignities. He did not scruple to tell him, that though he should sell all Egypt, he would not have sufficient to satisfy their avidity. He advised him therefore to return to Egypt, and reconcile himself with his subjects; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices.

Ptolemy, upon this discourse, recovered as out of a dream, and having maturely considered what the wise Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him, being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome (one may easily guess with what views) dissuaded him from following Cato's good counsel. He had time enough to repent it, when he found himself in that proud city, reduced to solicit his business from gate to gate, like a private person.

* Cæsar, upon whom his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome; he was at that time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the money he had received from that prince, in conjunction with Cæsar, Ptolemy had afterwards cultivated his friendship by various services, which he had rendered him during the war with Mithridates, and had maintained 8000 horse for him in that of Judæa. Having therefore made his complaint to the senate of the rebellion of his subjects, he demanded that they should oblige them to return to their obedience, as the Romans were engaged to do by the alliance granted him. Pompey's faction obtained him their compliance. The consul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, separated from Egypt only by the coast of Syria, had fallen by lot, was charged with the re-establishment of Ptolemy upon the throne.

† But before his consulship expired, the Egyptians having been informed that their king was not dead as they believed, and that he was gone to Rome, sent thither a solemn embassy, to justify the revolt before the senate. That embassy consisted of more than 100 persons, of whom the chief was a celebrated philosopher, named Dion, who had considerable friends at Rome. Ptolemy having received advice of this, found means to destroy most of those ambassadors, either by poison or the sword, and intimidated those so much, whom he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they were afraid either to acquit themselves of their commission, or to demand justice for so many murders.

* Dio Cass. l. xxiix. p. 97, 98. Plin. l. xxviii. c. 16. Cic. ad Famil. Id. in Pifo. n. 48—50. Id. pro Cœl. n. 23, 24.

† A. M. 2947. Ann. J. C. 57.

But as all the world knew this cruelty, it made him as highly odious as he was before contemptible; and his immense profusion, in gaining the poorest and most self-interested senators, became so public, that nothing else was talked of throughout the city.

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and such an excess of audacity, excited the indignation of all the persons of integrity in the senate. M. Favonius, the Stoic philosopher, was the first in it who declared himself against Ptolemy. Upon his request it was resolved, that Dion should be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, composed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of such as he had corrupted with money, and of those who had lent him sums to corrupt others, acted so openly in his favour, that Dion did not dare to appear; and Ptolemy, having caused him also to be killed some small time after, though he who did the murder was accused juridically, the king was discharged of it, upon maintaining that he had just cause for the action.

Whether that prince thought that nothing further at Rome demanded his presence, or apprehended receiving some affront hated as he was, if he continued there any longer, he set out from thence some few days after, and retired to Ephesus, into the temple of the goddess, to wait there the decision of his destiny.

His affair, in effect, made more noise than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active enterprising young man, who did not want eloquence, declared himself in frequent harangues against Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was hearkened to by the people with singular pleasure, and extraordinary applause.

† In order to put a new scheme in motion, he waited till the new consuls were elected; and as soon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he proposed to the people an oracle of the Sybils, which imported: "if a king of Egypt, having occasion for aid, applies to you, you shall not refuse him your amity: but, however, you shall not give him any troops; for if you do, you will suffer and hazard much."

The usual form was to communicate this kind of oracles first to the senate, in order that it might be examined whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending that the king's faction might occasion the passing a resolution there to suppress this, which was so opposite to that prince, immediately presented the priests, with whom the sacred books were deposited, to the people, and obliged them, by the authority which his office as tribune gave him, to expose what they had found in them to the public, without demanding the senate's opinion.

† A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.

This was a new stroke of thunder to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sybil were too express not to make all the impression upon the vulgar which their enemies desired. So that Lentulus, whose consulship was expired, not being willing to receive the affront to his face, of having the senate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to reinstate Ptolemy, set out immediately for his province in quality of proconsul.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new consuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy of Pompey, having proposed the oracle to the senate, it was decreed, that regard should be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous for the commonwealth to re-establish the king of Egypt by force.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, to have any faith in such an oracle. Nobody doubted, but that it had been contrived for the present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret intrigue of policy. But it had been published and approved in the assembly of the people, credulous and superstitious to excess; and the senate could pass no other judgment upon it.

This new incident obliged Ptolemy to change his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree, by which he had been commissioned for his re-establishment, and demanding by Ammonius his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission; because, it not being possible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he judged, with reason, that it was necessary to substitute in the room of force a person of great authority: and Pompey was at that time at the highest pitch of his glory, from his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen since Alexander.

The affair was deliberated upon in the senate, and debated with great vivacity by the different parties that rose up in it. * The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be lost without any determination. Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus, his intimate friend, who, during his consulship, had infinitely contributed to his being recalled from banishment. But what means was there to render him any service, in the condition things stood? And what could that proconsul do against a great kingdom, without using the force of arms, which was expressly forbidden by the oracle? In this manner thought people of little wit and subtlety, that were not used to consider things in different lights. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-establishment. Could not Lentulus have left him in some place near the frontiers, and went, however, with a good army to besiege Alexandria? After he had taken

* Cic. ad Famil. l. 1. epist. 7.

it, he might have returned, leaving a strong garrison in the place, and then sent the king thither who would have found all things disposed for his reception without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice; to confirm which, I shall repeat his own words, taken from a letter wrote by him at that time to Lentulus: "you are the best judge," says he, "as you are master of Cilicia and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and effect. If it seems practicable for you to take Alexandria, and possess yourself of the rest of Egypt; it is without doubt both for your own and the honour of the commonwealth, that you should go thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king at Ptolemais, or in some other neighbouring place; in order, that after you have appeased the revolt, and left good garrisons where necessary, that prince may safely return thither. † In this manner you will reinstate him, according to the senate's first decree, and he be restored without troops, which our zealots assure us is the sense of the Sybil." Would one believe that a grave magistrate, in an affair so important as that in the present question, should be capable of an evasion, which appears so little consistent with the integrity and probity upon which Cicero valued himself? It was because he reckoned the oracle only pretended to be the Sybil's, as indeed it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance and imposture.

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enterprise, which were great and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the conclusion of his letter, where he represented, "that all the world would judge of his conduct from the event: that therefore he had only to take his measures so well, as to assure his success, and that otherwise he would do better not to undertake it."

Gabinus, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less apprehensive and cautious. Though every proconsul was prohibited by an express law to quit his province, or declare any war whatsoever, even upon the nearest border, without an express order of the senate, he had marched to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, expelled Media by the king his brother, which kingdom had fallen to him by division. ‡ He had already passed the Euphrates with his army for that purpose, when Ptolemy joined him with letters from Pompey, their com-

† Ita fore: ut per te restituatur, quemadmodum initio senatus con-
sult; et sine multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines, religiosi
Sybillæ placere dixerunt.

* Ex eventu homines de tuo consilio esse judicatuos videmus—Nos
quidem hoc sentimus; si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regno potiri,
non esse cunctandum; sin dubium, non esse conandum.

‡ A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55. App. in Syr. p. 120. et in Parth. p.
134. Plut. in Anton 916, 917.

mon friend and patron, who had very lately been declared consul for the year ensuing. By those letters he conjured Gabinus to do his utmost in favour of the proposals that prince should make him, with regard to his re-establishment in his kingdom. However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and still more, the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinus begin to waver. The lively remonstrances of Antony, who sought occasions to signalise himself, and was besides inclined to please Ptolemy, whose intreaties flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Antony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus. Gabinus had engaged him to follow him into Syria, by giving him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprise, the more right Gabinus thought he had to make Ptolemy pay dear for it. The latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him for himself and the army 10,000 talents, or 1,500,000*l.* the greatest part to be advanced immediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as he should be reinstated, Gabinus accepted the offer without hesitation.

‡ Egypt had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As soon as she ascended the throne, the Egyptians had sent to offer the crown and Berenice to Antiochus Asiaticus in Syria, who, on his mother Selena's side, was the nearest heir-male. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned : they brought an account that his brother Seleucus, surnamed Cybiosactes, was still alive. The same offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and sordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amassing money. His first care was to cause the body of Alexander the Great to be put in a coffin of glass, in order to seize that of gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others of a like nature, having rendered him equally odious to his queen and subjects, she caused him to be strangled soon after. He was the last prince of the race of the Seleucides. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high priest of Comana in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though in effect only the son of that prince's chief general.

* Gabinus, after having repassed the Euphrates, and crossed Palestine, marched directly into Egypt. What was most to be feared in this war, was the way by which they must necessarily march to Pelusium ; for they could not avoid passing plains covered with sands of such a depth as was terrible to think on, and so dry, that there was not a single drop of water the whole length of the moors of Serbonida. Antony, who was sent before with

‡ Strab. l. xii. p. 538. Id. l. xvii. p. 794, et 796. Dion. l. xliii. p. 315-317. Cic. in Pison. n. 49, 50.

* Plut. in Anton. p. 616, 617.

the horse, not only seized the passes, but having taken Pelusium, the key of Egypt on that side, with the whole garrison, he made the way secure for the rest of the army, and gave his general great hopes of the expedition.

The enemy found a considerable advantage in the desire of glory which possessed Antony: for Ptolemy had no sooner entered Pelusium, than, out of the violence of his hate and resentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword. But Antony, who rightly judged that act of cruelty would revert upon himself, opposed it, and prevented Ptolemy from executing his design. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only gave proofs of his great valour, but distinguished himself by all the conduct of a great general.

As soon as Gabinius received advice of Antony's good success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, the properest time, in consequence, for the conquest of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and disputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quitted the city in order to march against the Romans, when it was necessary to encamp and break ground for the entrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry, that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work, at the expense of the public. What could be expected from such troops in a battle! They were, in effect, soon put to the rout. Archelaus was killed, fighting valiantly. Antony, who had been his particular friend and guest, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner, and solemnised his obsequies with great magnificence. By this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria, and acquired amongst the Romans who served with him in this war, the reputation of a man of singular valour and exceeding generosity.

Egypt was soon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire possession of his dominions. In order to strengthen him in it, Gabinius left him some Roman troops for the guard of his person. Those troops contracted at Alexandria the manners and customs of the country, and gave into the luxury and effeminacy which reigned there in almost every city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the crown during his exile; and afterwards got rid, in the same manner, of all the rich persons who had been of the adverse party to him. He had occasion for the confiscation of their estates, to make up the sum he had promised to Gabinius, to whose aid he was indebted for his re-establishment.

* The Egyptians suffered all those violences without murmuring: but some days after, a Roman soldier having accidentally

* *Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 74, 75.*

killed a cat, neither the fear of Gabinus, nor the authority of Ptolemy, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the spot, to avenge the insult done to the gods of the country; for cats were of that number.

† Nothing farther is known in relation to the life of Ptolemy Auletes, except that C. Rabirius Posthumus, who had either lent him, or caused to be lent him, the greatest part of the sums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him, in order to his being paid when he was entirely reinstated, that prince gave him to understand, that he despaired of satisfying him, unless he would consent to take upon him the care of his revenues; by which means he might reimburse himself by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer, out of fear of losing his debt if he refused it, the king soon found a colour for causing him to be imprisoned, though one of the oldest and dearest of Cæsar's friends, and though Pompey was in some measure security for the debt, as the money was lent, and the obligations executed, in his presence, and by his procurement, in a country-house of his near Alba.

Rabirius thought himself too happy in being able to escape from prison and Egypt, more miserable than he, went thither. To complete his disgrace, he was prosecuted in form as soon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, by the sums he had lent him for that use; of having dishonoured his quality of Roman knight, by the employment he had accepted in Egypt; and lastly, of having shared in the money which Gabinus brought from thence, with whom it was alleged he had a fellow feeling. Cicero's discourse in his defence, which we still have, is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.

* Ptolemy Auletes died in the possession of the kingdom of Egypt, about four years after his re-establishment. He left two sons and two daughters. He gave his crown to the eldest son and daughter, and ordered by his will, that they should marry together, according to the custom of that house, and govern jointly. And because they were both very young, (for the daughter, who was the eldest, was only seventeen years of age), he left them under the tuition of the Roman senate. This was the famous Cleopatra, whose history it remains for us to relate. ‡ We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who some years after so basely ordered him to be put to death.

† Cic. pro Rabir. Posth.

* A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cæsar de Bello Civ. l. iii.

‡ Eutrop. l. vi.

SECTION II.

CLEOPATRA EXPELLED THE THRONE ; BUT IS AFTERWARDS,
WITH HER YOUNGER BROTHER, RE-ESTABLISHED.—
POMPEY ASSASSINATED.

LITTLE † is known of the beginning of Cleopatra's and her brother's reign. That prince was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus the eunuch, and of Achillas the general of his army. Those two ministers, no doubt to engross all affairs to themselves, had deprived Cleopatra, in the king's name, of the share in the sovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, she went into Syria and Palestine to raise troops in those countries, in order to assert her rights by force of arms.

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the difference between the brother and sister, that Pompey, after having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt ; conceiving, that he should find there an open and assured asylum in his misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was solely to his credit he was indebted for his re-establishment. He was in hopes of finding the son grateful, and of being powerfully assisted by him. When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coast with his army, between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Cleopatra at no great distance, at the head of her troops also. Pompey, on approaching the coast, sent to Ptolemy to demand permission to land, and enter his kingdom.

The two ministers, Pothinus and Achillas, consulted with Theodotus the rhetorician, the young king's preceptor, and with some others, what answer they should make. Pompey, in the mean time, waited the result of that council, and chose rather to expose himself to the decision of the three unworthy persons that governed the prince, than to owe his safety to Cæsar, who was his father-in-law, and the greatest of the Romans. This council differed in opinion ; some were for receiving him, others for having him told to seek a retreat elsewhere. Theodotus approved neither of these methods ; and displaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate, that there was no other choice to be made than that of ridding the world of him. His reason was, because if they received him Cæsar would never forgive the having assisted his enemy ; if they sent him away without aid, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himself upon them for their refusal : that therefore there was no security for them but in putting him to death ; by which means they would gain Cæsar's friendship, and prevent the other from ever doing them any hurt : for, said he, according to the proverb, " dead men do not bite."

† A. M. 3956. Ant. J. C. 48. Plut. in Pomp. p. 659—662. Id. in Cæs. p. 730, 731. Appian de Bell. Civ. p. 480—484. Cæs. de Bell. Civ. l. iii. Dio. l. xlii. p. 200—206.

This advice carried it, as being in their sense the wisest and most safe. Septimus, a Roman officer in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others, were charged with putting it into execution. They went to take Pompey on-board a shallop, under the pretext that great vessels could not approach the shore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the sea side, as with design to do honour to Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. The perfidious Septimus tendered his hand to Pompey, in the name of his master, and bade him come to him, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and son. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death; and after having repeated these verses of Sophocles, "every man that enters the court of a tyrant becomes his slave, though free before," he went into the shallop. When they saw themselves near the shore, they stabbed him before they king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the strand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freed men, gave it, with the assistance of an old Roman who was there by chance. They raised him a wretched funeral pile, and covered him with some fragments of an old wreck that had been driven ashore there.

Cornelia had seen Pompey massacred before her eyes. It is easier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from so tragical an object, than to describe it. Those who were in her galley, and in two other ships in company with it, made the coast resound with the cries they raised, and weighing anchor immediately set sail before the wind, which blew fresh as soon as they got out to sea. This prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chase them, from pursuing their design.

Cæsar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt, whither he suspected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him alive. That he might be there the sooner, he carried very few troops with him; only 800 horse, and 3200 foot. He left the rest of his army in Greece and Asia Minor, under his lieutenant-generals, with orders to make all the advantages of his victory it would admit, and to establish his authority in all those countries.* As for his person, confiding in his reputation, and the success of his arms at Pharsalia, and reckoning all places secure for him, he made no scruple to land at Alexandria with the few people he had. He was very nigh paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confusion. Theodotus, believing he should do him an exceeding pleasure, presented him the head of

* Cæsar confusus fama rerum gestarum, infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitaverat: atque omnem sibi locum tutum fore existimabat. Cæs.

that illustrious fugitive. He wept at seeing it, and turned away his eyes from a spectacle that gave him horror. He even caused it to be interred with all the usual solemnities ; and the better to express his esteem for Pompey, and the respect he had for his memory, he received with great kindness, and loaded with favours, all who had adhered to him then in Egypt, and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the highest and most grateful advantage of his victory, was to find every day some new occasion to preserve the lives, and do services to some citizens who had borne arms against him.

The commotions increased every day at Alexandria, and abundance of murders were committed there ; the city having neither law nor government, because without a master. Cæsar perceiving that the small number of troops with him were far from being sufficient to awe an insolent and seditious populace, gave orders for the legions he had in Asia to march thither. It was not in his power to leave Egypt, because of the Etesian winds, which in that country blow continually in the dog days, and prevent all vessels from quitting Alexandria ; those winds are then always full north. Not to lose time, he demanded the payment of the money due to him from Auletes, and took cognisance of the difference between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra.

We have seen, that when Cæsar was consul for the first time, Auletes had gained him by the promise of 6000 talents, and by that means had assured himself of the throne, and been declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that sum, and had given him an obligation for the remainder.

Cæsar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he wanted for the subsistence of his troops, and exacted with rigour. Pothinus, Ptolemy's first minister, employed various stratagems to make this rigour appear still greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and silver to be found in them, and made the king, and all the great persons of the kingdom, eat out of earthen or wooden vessels ; insinuating underhand, that Cæsar had seized upon all their silver and gold plate, in order to render him odious to the populace by such reports, which did not want appearance, though entirely groundless.

But what finally incensed the Egyptians against Cæsar, and made them at last take arms, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in causing them to be cited to appear before him for the decision of their difference. We shall soon see upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form, that they should disband their armies, should appear and plead their cause before him, and receive such sentence as he

should pass between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which being independent, acknowledged no superior, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæsar replied to these complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being arbitrator by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the tuition of the senate and people of Rome, of which the whole authority was then vested in his person, in quality of consul : that as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them ; and that all he pretended to, as executor of the will, was to establish peace between the brother and sister. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæsar, and advocates were chosen to plead the cause.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæsar's foible, believed her presence would be more persuasive than any advocate she could employ with her judge. She caused him to be told, that she perceived that those she employed in her behalf betrayed her, and demanded his permission to appear in person. Plutarch says, it was Cæsar himself who pressed her to come and plead her cause.

That princess took nobody with her, of all her friends, but Apollodorus the Sicilian, got into a little boat, and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark, at night. Finding that there was no means of entering without being known, she thought of this stratagem : she laid herself at length in the midst of a bundle of clothes ; Apollodorus wrapt it up in a cloth, tied it up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the port of the citadel to Cæsar's apartment, who was far from being displeased with the stratagem. The first sight of so beautiful a person had all the effect upon him she had desired.

Cæsar sent the next day for Ptolemy, and pressed him to take her again, and be reconciled with her. Ptolemy saw plainly that his judge was become his adversary ; and having learned that his sister was then in the palace, and in Cæsar's own apartment, he quitted it in the utmost fury, and in the open street took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground ; crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the circumstances to the multitude who assembled round him. In a moment the whole city was in motion. He put himself at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuously to charge Cæsar with all the fury natural on such occasions.

The Roman soldiers whom Cæsar had with him, secured the person of Ptolemy. But as all the rest, who knew nothing of what passed, were dispersed in the several quarters of that great city, Cæsar had infallibly been overpowered and torn to pieces, by that furious populace, if he had not had the presence of mind

to show himself to them from a part of the palace so high that he had nothing to fear upon it : from hence he assured them, that they would be fully satisfied with the judgment he should pass. Those promises appeased the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra into an assembly of the people, summoned by his order. After having caused the will of the late king to be read, he decreed, as tutor and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will ; and that Ptolemy the younger son, and Arsinoe the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. He added the last article to appease the people ; for it was purely a gift he made them, as the Romans were actually in possession of that island. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrians' fury ; and to extricate himself out of danger, was the reason of his making this concession.

* The whole world were satisfied and charmed with this decree, except only Pothinus. As it was he who had occasioned the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulsion of that princess from the throne, he had reason to apprehend that the consequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæsar's decree, he inspired the people with new subjects of jealousy and discontent. He gave out, that Cæsar had only granted this decree by force, and through fear, which would not long subsist ; and that his true design was to place only Cleopatra upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman should govern them alone, and have all authority to herself. When he saw that the people came into his views, he made Achilles advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Cæsar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their first confusion. Archillas, who had 20,000 good troops, despised Cæsar's small number, and believed he should overpower him immediately. But Cæsar posted his men so well in the streets, and upon the avenues of the quarter in his possession, that he found no difficulty in supporting their attack.

When they saw they could not force him, they changed their measures, and marched towards the port, with design to make themselves masters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the sea, and to prevent him, in consequence, from receiving succours and convoys on that side. But Cæsar again frustrated their designs, by causing the Egyptian fleet to be set on fire, and by possessing himself of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned. By this means he preserved and secured his communication with the sea, without which he had been ruined effectually. Some of the vessels on fire came so near the quay,

that the flames caught the neighbouring houses, from whence they spread throughout the whole quarter called Brachion. It was at this time the famous library was consumed, which had been the work of so many kings, and in which there were 400,000 volumes. What a loss was this to literature !

Cæsar seeing so dangerous a war upon his hands, sent into all the neighbouring countries for aid. He wrote, amongst others, to Dometrius Calvinus, whom he had left to command in Asia Minor, and signified to him his danger. That general immediately detached two legions, the one by land, and the other by sea. That which went by sea arrived in time ; the other, that marched by land did not go thither at all. Before it had got there, the war was at an end. But Cæsar was best served by Mithridates the Pergamenian, whom he sent into Syria and Cilicia : for he brought him the troops which extricated him out of danger, as we shall see in the sequel.

Whilst he waited the aids he had sent for, that he might not fight an army so superior in number till he thought fit, he caused the quarter in his possession to be fortified. He surrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other works. Those lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made use of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolemy all this while was in Cæsar's hands ; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who was of intelligence with Achilles, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigour. One of his letters was at last intercepted ; and his treason being thereby discovered, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arsinoe, the youngest of the king's sisters, apprehending the same fate, because he had shared in that treason, carried off the young princess, and escaped into the camp of the Egyptians ; who not having, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her presence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achilles, caused that general to be accused of having given up that fleet to Cæsar that had been set on fire by the Romans, which occasioned that general's being put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to him. He took also upon him the administration of all other affairs ; and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the employment of a prime minister, probity only excepted, which is often reckoned little or no qualification : for he had all the necessary penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress Cæsar during the continuance of this war.

For instance, he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means : for there was no other fresh water in Alexandria but that of the

Nile. * In every house were vaulted reservoirs, where it was kept. Every year, upon the great swell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that use, and by a sluice made on purpose, was turned into the vaulted reservoirs, which were the cisterns of the city, where it grew clear by degrees. The masters of houses and their families drank of this water; but the poorer sort of people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholesome; for there were no springs in the city. Those caverns were made in such a manner, that they all had communication with each other. This provision served for the whole year. Every house had an opening, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was taken up either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes caused all the communications with the caverns in the quarter of Cæsar to be stopped up; and then found means to turn the sea-water into the latter, and thereby spoiled all his fresh water. As soon as they perceived that the water was spoiled, Cæsar's soldiers made such a noise, and raised such a tumult, that he would have been obliged to abandon his quarter, very much to his disadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be sunk, where, at last, springs were found, which supplied them with water enough to make them amends for that which was spoiled.

After that, upon Cæsar's receiving advice, that the legion Calvinus had sent by sea was arrived upon the coast of Libya, which was not very distant, he advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it safely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was apprised of this, and immediately assembled all the Egyptian ships he could get, in order to attack him upon his return. A battle actually ensued between the two fleets. Cæsar had the advantage, and brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria; and, had not the night came on, the ships of the enemy would not have escaped.

To repair that loss, Ganymedes drew together all the ships in the mouths of the Nile, and formed a new fleet, with which he entered the port of Alexandria. A second action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climbed in throngs to the tops of the houses next the port to be spectators of the fight, and expected the success with fear and trembling; lifting up their hands to heaven, to implore the assistance of the gods. The all of the Romans was at stake, to whom there was no resource left if they lost this battle. Cæsar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valour and skill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

* There are to this day exactly the same kind of caves at Alexandria, which are filled once a year, as of old. Thevenot's travels.

Cæsar, to make the best of it, endeavoured to seize the isle of Pharos, where he landed his troops after the battle, and to possess himself of the mole, called the Heptastadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But after having obtained several advantages, he was repulsed with the loss of more than 800 men, and was very near falling himself in his retreat ; for the ship in which he had designed to get off, being ready to sink with the too great number of people who had entered it with him, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. Whilst he was in the sea, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of consequence, and swam with the other ; so that they were not spoiled.

The Alexandrians, seeing that ill success itself only served to give Cæsar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at least dissembled such a disposition. They sent deputies to demand their king of him ; assuring him, that his presence alone would put an end to all differences. Cæsar, who well knew their subtle and deceitful character, was not at a loss to comprehend their professions ; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person, and if they failed in their promises the fault would be entirely on their side, he thought it incumbent on him to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince to take the advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments of peace and equity ; to redress the evils with which a war, very imprudently undertaken, distressed his dominions ; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him, by giving him his liberty ; and to show his gratitude for the services he had rendered his father. Ptolemy, early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged of Cæsar, with tears in his eyes, not to deprive him of his presence, which was a much greater satisfaction to him than to reign over others *. The sequel soon explained how much sincerity there was in those tears and professions of amity. He was no sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by the means of their fleet, to cut off Cæsar's provisions entirely. This occasioned a new fight at sea near Canopus, in which Cæsar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army, which he was bringing to the aid of Cæsar.

† He had been sent into Syria and Cilicia to assemble all the

* *Regius animus disciplinæ fallacissimis eruditus, ne agentis suæ moribus degeneraret, flens orare contra Cæsarem cœpit, ne se demitteret : non enim regnum ipsum sibi conspectu Cæsaris esse jucundius. Hiero. de Bell. Alex.*

† Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 14, 15.

troops he could, and to march them to Egypt. He acquitted himself of his commission with such diligence and prudence, that he had soon formed a considerable army. Antipater, the Idumæan, contributed very much towards it. He had not only joined him with 3000 Jews, but engaged several neighbouring princes of Arabia and Cœlosyria to send him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who accompanied him in person, marched into Egypt, and upon arriving before Pelusium, they carried that place by storm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's bravery for the taking of this city; for he was the first that mounted the breach, and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for those who followed him to carry the town.

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was necessary to pass through the country of Onion, of which the Jews, who inhabited it, had seized all the passes. The army was there put to a stand, and their whole design was upon the point of miscarrying, if Antipater, by his credit, and that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought them letters, had not engaged them to espouse Cæsar's party. Upon the spreading of that news, the Jews of Memphis did the same, and Mithridates received from both all the provisions his army had occasion for. When they were near Delta, Ptolemy detached a flying army to dispute the passage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in consequence. Mithridates put himself at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. Mithridates's wing was soon broke, and obliged to give way; but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, came to his relief. The battle began afresh, and the enemy were defeated. Mithridates and Antipater pursued them, made a great slaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged those who remained to escape, by repassing the Nile.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army in order to overpower the victors. Cæsar also marched to support them: and as soon as he had joined them, came directly to a decisive battle, in which he obtained a complete victory. Ptolemy, in endeavouring to escape in a boat, was drowned in the Nile. Alexandria, and all Egypt, submitted to the victor.

Cæsar returned to Alexandria about the middle of January; and not finding any further opposition to his orders, gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy her other brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone; for that young prince was only 11 years old. The passion which Cæsar had conceived for that princess was properly the sole cause of his embarking in so dangerous a war. He had by her one son, called Cæsario, whom Augustus caused to be put to death when he became master of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt than his affairs re-

quired : for though every thing was settled in that kingdom by the end of January, he did not leave it till the end of April, according to Appian, who says he staid there nine months. He arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

* Cæsar passed whole nights in feasting with Cleopatra. Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country with a numerous fleet, and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refused to follow him. He had resolved to have her brought to Rome, and to marry her ; and intended to have caused a law to pass in the assembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome should be permitted to marry such, and as many wives, as they thought fit. Marius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared, after his death, that he had prepared an harangue, in order to propose that law to the people, not being able to refuse his offices to the earnest solicitation of Cæsar.

He carried Arsinoe, whom he had taken in this war, to Rome, and she walked in his triumph in chains of gold ; but immediately after that solemnity he set her at liberty. He did not permit her, however, to return into Egypt, lest her presence should occasion new troubles, and frustrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She chose the province of Asia for her residence, at least it was there Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caused her to be put to death, at the instigation of her sister Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæsar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, caused all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed ; and ordered a column to be erected, on which, by his command, all those privileges were engraven, with the decree of confirming them.

† What at length made him quit Egypt, was the war with Pharnaces king of the Cimmerian-Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates the last king of Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near the city of Zela †, defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of his conquest, in writing to one of his friends, he made use of only these three words : *Veni, vidi, vici* ; that is to say, "I came, I saw, I conquered."

SECTION. III.

CLEOPATRA REIGNS ALONE.—DEATH OF JULIUS CÆSAR.—

TRAGICAL END OF ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

CÆSAR, after the war of Alexandria, had set Cleopatra upon the throne, and for form only, had associated her brother with

* Suet. in Cæ. c. 52.

† Plut. in Cæ. p. 751.

† This was a city of Cappadocia,

her, who at that time was only 11 years of age. During his minority all power was in her hands†. When he attained his 15th year, which was the time when, according to the laws of the country, he was to govern for himself, and have a share in the royal authority, she poisoned him, and remained sole queen of Egypt.

In this interval Cæsar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators, at the head of which were Brutus and Cassius; and the triumvirate between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius Cæsar, had been formed to avenge the death of Cæsar.

§ Cleopatra declared herself without hesitation for the triumvirs. She gave Albius, the consul, Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions; which were the remains of Pompey's and Crassus's armies, and were part of the troops Cæsar had left with her for the guard of Egypt. She had also a fleet in readiness for sailing but prevented by storms from setting out. || Cassius made himself master of those four legions, and frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which she as often refused. She sailed some time after with a numerous fleet to join Antony and Octavius. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick she was obliged to return into Egypt.

* Antony, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in the battle of Philippi, having passed over into Asia, in order to establish the authority of the triumvirate there, the kings, princes, and ambassadors, of the east, came thither in throngs to make their court to him. He was informed, that the governors of Phœnicia, which was in the dependence of the kingdom of Egypt, had sent Cassius aid against Dolabella. He cited Cleopatra before him to answer for the conduct of her governors; and sent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to him in Cilicia, whither he was going to assemble the states of that province. That step became very fatal to Antony in its effects, and occasioned his ruin. His love for Cleopatra having awakened passions in him till then concealed or asleep, inflamed them even to madness, and finally deadened and extinguished the few sparks of honour and virtue he might perhaps still retain.

Cleopatra, assured of her charms by the proof she had already so successfully made of them upon Julius Cæsar, was in hopes that she should also very easily captivate Antony; and the more, because the former had known her only when she was very young and had no experience of the world; whereas she was

† A. M. 5961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. xv. c. 4. Porphyry. p. 226.

§ Appian. l. iii. p. 576. l. iv. p. 623. l. v. p. 675.

|| A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42.

* A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Plut. in Anton. p. 926, 927. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 371. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 671.

Stay, said the queen, this is only a beginning, I shall try whether I cannot spend a million upon myself. A second table was brought †; and, according to the order she had before given, nothing was set on it but a single cup of vinegar. Antony, surprised at such a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears, two of the finest pearls that ever were seen, each of which was valued at about 50,000*l*. One of these pearls she took off, threw it into the vinegar*, and after having made it melt, swallowed it. She was preparing to do as much by the other †. Plancus stopped her, and, deciding the wager in her favour, declared Antony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong to envy the queen the singular and peculiar glory of having swallowed two millions in two cups.

|| Antony was embroiled with Cæsar. Whilst his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in supporting his interests, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if those things did not concern him, he suffered himself to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they passed their time in games, amusements, and voluptuousness, treating each other every day at excessive and incredible expences; which may be judged of from the following circumstance.

A young Greek §, who went to Alexandria to study physic, upon the great noise those feasts made, had the curiosity to assure himself with his own eyes about them. Having been admitted into Antony's kitchen, he saw, among other things, eight wild boars roasting whole at the same time. He expressed surprise at the great number of guests that he supposed were to be at this supper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him that they were not so many as he imagined, and that there could not be above ten in all; but that it was necessary every thing should be served in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceases and spoils: "for," added

‡ The ancients changed their tables at every course.

* "Vinegar is of force to melt the hardest things." *Aceti succus domitor rerum*, as Pliny says of it, *l. xxxiii. c. 3*. "Cleopatra had not the glory of the invention. Before, to the disgrace of royalty, the son of a comedian (Clodius the son of Æsopus) had done something of the same kind, and often swallowed pearls melted in that manner, from the sole pleasure of making the expence of his meals enormous."

*Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,
Scilicet ut decies solidum exsorberet, aceto
Diluit insignem baccam.*—

HOR. l. ii. Sat. 2.

† This other pearl was afterwards consecrated to Venus by Augustus, who carried it to Rome, on his return from Alexandria; and having caused it to be cut in two, its size was so extraordinary that it served for pendants in the ears of that goddess.

|| A. M. 3964. Ant. J. C. 40.

§ Plut. in Anton. p. 928.

he, "it often happens, that Antony will order his supper, and a moment after forbid it to be served, having entered into some conversation that diverts him. For that reason, not one, but many suppers, are provided ; because it is hard to know at what time he will think fit to eat."

Cleopatra, lest Antony should escape her, never lost sight of him nor quitted him day nor night, but was always employed in diverting and retaining him in her charms. She played with him at dice, hunted with him ; and when he exercised his troops, was always present. Her sole attention was to amuse him agreeably, and not to leave him time to conceive the least disgust.

One day, when he was fishing with an angle, and caught nothing, he was very much displeased on that account, because the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to seem to want address or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten some of their large fishes to his hook which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Antony drew up his line several times with a great fish at the end of it. This artifice did not escape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and surprise at Antony's good fortune ; but told her friends privately what had happened, and invited them to come next day and be spectators of a like pleasantry. They did not fail. When they were all got into the fishing boats, and Antony had thrown his line, she commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Antony's divers, and to make fast a large salt fish, of those that come from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Antony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine what a great laugh arose at the sight of that salt fish ; and Cleopatra said to him "leave the line, good general, to us, the kings and queens of Pharos and Canopus : your business is to fish for cities, kingdoms, and kings."

Whilst Antony amused himself in these puerile sports and trifling diversions, the news he received of Labienus's conquests, at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his profound sleep, and obliged him to march against them. But having received advice, upon his route, of Fulvia's death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself to young Cæsar, whose sister Octavia he married ; a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. * But having begun his march against the Parthians, his passion for the Egyptian, which had something

* A. M. 2965. Ant. J. C. 39.

of enchantment in it, rekindled with more violence than ever.

* This queen, in the midst of the most violent passions and the intoxication of pleasures, retained always a taste for polite learning and the sciences. In the place where stood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burned some years before, as we have observed, she erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Antony very much contributed, by presenting her the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above 200,000 volumes. She did not collect books merely for ornament; she made use of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom she spoke by an interpreter: she answered most of them in their own language; the Ethiopians, Troglodytæ, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. † She knew besides, several other languages; whereas the kings who had reigned before her in Egypt had scarce been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had even forgot the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herself the lawful wife of Antony, saw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom she looked upon as her rival. Antony, to appease her, was obliged to make her magnificent presents. He gave her Phœnicia, the lower Syria, the isle of Cyprus, with a great extent of Cilicia. To these he added part of Judæa and Arabia. These great presents, which considerably abridged the empire, very much afflicted the Romans; and they were no less offended at the excessive honours which he paid this foreign princess.

Two years passed, during which Antony made several voyages to Rome, and undertook some expeditions against the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

‡ It was in one of these expeditions the temple of Antis was plundered, a goddess much celebrated amongst a certain people of Armenia. Her statue of massy gold was broken in pieces by the soldiers, with which several of them were considerably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards settled at Bologna in Italy, had the good fortune to receive Augustus in his house, and to entertain him at supper. "Is it true," said that prince at table, talking of this story, "that the man who made the first stroke at the statue of this goddess was immediately deprived of sight, lost the use of his limbs, and expired the same hour?" "If it were," replied the veteran with a smile, "I should not now have the honour of seeing Augustus beneath my roof, being myself the rash person who made the first attack upon her, which has since stood me in great stead: for if I have any thing, I am entirely indebted for it to the good goddess;

* A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. Epiphan. de mon. et pond.

† Plut. in Anton. p. 927.

‡ Plin. l. xxxv. c. 23.

"upon one of whose legs, even now, my lord, you are at supper."

* Antony, believing he had made every thing secure in those countries, led back his troops. From his impatience to rejoin Cleopatra, he hastened his march so much, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and the continual snows, that he lost 8000 men upon his route, and marched into Phœnicia with very few followers. He rested there in expectation of Cleopatra: and as she was slow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languishment, that visibly preyed upon him. She arrived at length with clothes, and great sums of money, for his troops.

Octavia, at the same time, had quitted Rome to join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleopatra rightly perceived that she came to dispute Antony's heart with her. She was afraid, that with her virtue, wisdom, and gravity of manners, if she had time to make use of her modest, but lively and insinuating attractions to win her husband, that she would gain an absolute power over him. To avoid such danger, she affected to die for love of Antony; and, with that view, made herself lean and wan, by taking very little nourishment. Whenever he entered her apartment, she looked upon him with an air of surprise and amazement; and when he left her, seemed to languish with sorrow and dejection. She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and at the same moment endeavoured to dry and conceal them, as if to hide her weakness and disorder. Antony, who feared nothing so much as occasioning the least displeasure to Cleopatra, wrote letters to Octavia, to order her to stay for him at Athens, and to come no farther, because he was upon the point of undertaking some new expedition. At the request of the king of the Medes, who promised him powerful succours, he was in reality making preparations to renew the war against the Parthians.

That virtuous Roman lady, dissembling the wrong he did her, sent to him to know where it would be agreeable to him to have the presents carried she had designed for him, since he did not think fit to let her deliver them in person. Antony received this second compliment no better than the first; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his seeing Octavia, would not permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage than that of making Antony more inexcusable. This was what Cæsar desired, in order to have a juster reason for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæsar, professing an high resentment of the affront she had received, ordered her to quit An-

Antony's house, and to go to her own. She answered, that she would not leave her husband's house; and that if he had no other reason for a war with Antony than what related to her, she conjured him to renounce her interests. She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been present, and educated with great care and magnificence, not only the children he had by her, but all those of Fulvia. What a contrast is here between Octavia and Cleopatra! In the midst of resentment and affronts, how worthy does the one seem of esteem and respect, and the other, with all her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence!

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Antony in her chains. Tears, caresses, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By dint of presents, she had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed most confidence. Those flatterers represented to him, in the strongest terms, that it was utterly cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition she then was: and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princess, who loved and lived for him alone. They softened and melted the heart of Antony so effectually, that for fear of occasioning Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes till the following spring.

* It was with great difficulty then, that he resolved to leave Egypt, and remove himself from his dear Cleopatra. She agreed to attend him as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

† After having made himself master of Armenia, as well by treachery as force of arms, he returned to Alexandria, which he entered in triumph, dragging at his chariot-wheels the king of Armenia, laden with chains of gold, and presented him in that condition to Cleopatra, who was pleased to see a captive king at her feet. He unbent his mind at leisure, after his great fatigues, in feasts and parties of pleasure, in which Cleopatra and himself passed night and day. That vain ‡ Egyptian woman, at one of the banquets, seeing Antony full of wine, presumed to ask him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not ashamed to promise her.

Before he set out in a new expedition, Antony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to her, resolved to solemnise the coronation of her and her children. A throne of massy gold was erected for that purpose in the palace, the ascent to which was by several steps of silver. Antony was seated upon this throne, dressed in a purple robe, embroidered with gold, and buttoned

* A. M. 3970. Ant. J. C. 34. † A. M. 3971. Ant. J. C. 35.

‡ Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab ebrio imperatore, pretium libidinum, Romanum imperium petiit: et promisit Antonius. Flor. l. iv. c. 11.

with diamonds. On his side he wore a scimitar, after the Persian mode, the handle and sheath of which were loaded with precious stones : he had a diadem on his brows, and a sceptre of gold in his hand ; in order, as he said, that in that equipage he might deserve to be the husband of a queen. Cleopatra sat on his right hand, in a shining robe made of the precious linen appropriated to the use of the goddess Isis, whose name and habit she had the vanity to assume. Upon the same throne, but a little lower, sat Cæsario, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom she had by Antony.

Every one having taken the place assigned them, the heralds, by the command of Antony, and in the presence of all the people, to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Cœlo-syria, in conjunction with her son Cæsario. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes kings of kings, and declared, till they should possess a more ample inheritance, Antony gave Alexander, the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he should have conquered it ; and to the youngest, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Those two young princes were dressed according to the mode of the several countries over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes rising from their seats approached the throne, and putting one knee to the ground, kissed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. They had soon after a train assigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regiment of guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Antony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act against the Parthians, and advanced as far as the banks of the Araxis ; but the news of what passed at Rome against him, prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian expedition. He immediately detached Canidius with sixteen legions to the coast of the Ionian sea, and joined them himself soon after at Ephesus, to be ready to act, in case of an open rupture between Cæsar and him ; which there was great reason to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party ; and that occasioned Antony's ruin. His friends advised him to send her back to Alexandria till the event of the war should be known. But that queen apprehending, that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommodation with Cæsar, gained Canidius, by presents of money, to speak in her favour to Antony, and to represent to him, that it was neither just to remove a princess from this war who contributed so much towards it on her side, nor useful to himself, because her departure would discourage the Egyptians, of whom the greatest part of his maritime forces consisted. Be-

sides, continued those who talked in this manner, it did not appear that Cleopatra was inferior either in prudence or capacity to any of the princes or kings in his army : she who had governed a kingdom so long, might have learned, in her commerce with Antony, how to conduct the most important and difficult affairs with wisdom and address. Antony did not oppose these remonstrances, which flattered at once his passion and vanity.

From Ephesus he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greatest part of their troops had their rendezvous, and where they passed their time in feasting and pleasure. The kings in their train exhausted themselves in making their court by extraordinary expences, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

* It was probably in one of these feasts the circumstance happened related by Pliny. Whatever passion Cleopatra professed for Antony, as he perfectly knew her character for dissimulation, and that she was capable of the blackest crimes, he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that she might have thoughts of poisoning him ; for which reason he never touched any dish at their banquet, till it had been tasted. It was impossible that the queen should not perceive so manifest a distrust. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him sensible how ill-founded his fears were ; and also, that if she had so bad an intention, all the precautions he took would be ineffectual. She caused the extremities of the flowers to be poisoned, of which the wreaths, worn by Antony and herself at table, according to the custom of the ancients, were composed. When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height of their gaiety, Cleopatra proposed drinking off those flowers to Antony. He made no difficulty of it ; and after having plucked off the end of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, said to him——“ I am the poisoner, against whom you take such mighty precautions. If “ it were possible for me to live without you, judge now whether I wanted either the opportunity or reason for such an action.” Having ordered a poisoner condemned to die to be brought thither, she made him drink that liquor ; upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they passed many days in the same excesses. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and esteem Octavia had received, during her residence in that city. But whatever she could do, she could extort from them only forced civilities, that terminated in a trifling deputation, which Antony obliged the citizens to send to her, and of which he himself would be the chief, in quality of a citizen of Athens.

* Plin. l. xxi. c. 3.

* The new consuls, Caius Sosius, and Domitius Ænobarbus, having declared openly for Antony, quitted Rome, and repaired to him. Cæsar, instead of seizing them, or causing them to be pursued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permission ; and declared publicly, that all persons, who were so disposed, had his consent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained master at Rome, and was in a condition to decree and act whatever he thought proper for his own interests, or contrary to those of Antony.

When Antony was apprised of this, he assembled all the heads of his party ; and the result of their deliberations was, that he should declare war against Cæsar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Antony's preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked Cæsar vigorously, without loss of time, the advantage must have inevitably been wholly on his side : for his adversary was not then in a condition to make head against him, either by sea or land. But voluptuousness carried it ; and the operations were put off till the next year. This was his ruin. Cæsar, by his delay, had time to assemble all his forces.

The deputies sent by Antony to Rome, to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his house, with all her children, and, in case of refusal, to turn her out by force, and to leave nobody in it but the son of Antony by Fulvia : an indignity the more sensible to Octavia, as a rival was the cause of it. However, stilling her resentment, she answered the deputies only with her tears ; and as unjust as his orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appease the people, whom so unworthy an action had incensed against him, and did her utmost to mollify the rage of Cæsar. She represented to them, that it was inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of the Roman people, to enter into such petty differences ; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit their resentment about it ; and that she should be very wretched if she were the occasion of a new war ; she, who had solely consented to her marriage with Antony, from the hope that it would prove the pledge of an union between him and Cæsar. Her remonstrances had a different effect from her intentions ; and the people, charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Antony, than before.

But nothing enraged them to such an height as Antony's will, which he had deposited in the hands of the vestal virgins. This mystery was revealed by two † persons of consular dignity, who, incapable of suffering the pride of Cleopatra, and the abandon-

* A. M. 3972. Ant. J. C. 32. Plut. in Anton. p. 941—955.

† Titus and Plancus.

ed voluptuousness of Antony, had retired to Cæsar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the secret, they declared it to Cæsar. The vestals made great difficulty to give up an act confided to their care; alleging in their excuse the faith of deposits, which they were obliged to observe; and were determined to be forced to it by the authority of the people. The will accordingly being brought into the forum, these three articles were read in it:—I. That Antony acknowledged Cæsario the lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of kings of kings. III. That he decreed, in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having been carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same evening on a bed of state, in order to its being sent to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral interment.

There are some authors, however, who believe this will to be a piece contrived by Cæsar, to render Antony more odious to the people. And indeed, what appearance was there, that Antony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and customs, should confide to them the execution of a testament which violated them with so much contempt?

When Cæsar had an army and fleet ready, which seemed strong enough to make head against his enemy, he also declared war on his side. But in the decree granted by the people to that purpose, he caused it to be expressed, that it was against Cleopatra. It was from a refinement of policy he acted in that manner, and did not insert Antony's name in the declaration of war, though actually intended against him: for besides throwing the blame upon Antony, by making him the aggressor in a war against his country, he artfully managed those who were still attached to him, whose number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the necessity of declaring enemies to the commonwealth, if Antony had been expressly named in the decree.

Antony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was assembled. It consisted of 500 ships of war of extraordinary size and structure, having several decks one above another, with towers upon the head and stern of a prodigious height; so that those superb vessels upon the sea might have been taken for floating islands. Such great crews were necessary for completely manning those heavy machines, that Antony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take husbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all sorts of people void of experience, and fitter to give trouble than to do service.

On board this fleet were 200,000 foot, and 12,000 horse. The kings of Libya, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, and Thrace, were there in person; and those of Pontus, Judæa,

Lycæonia, Galatia, and Media, had sent their troops. A more splendid and pompous sight could not be seen, than this fleet when it put to sea, and had unfurled its sails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, all flaming with gold; its sails of purple; the flags and streamers floating in the wind, whilst trumpets, and other instruments of war made the heavens resound with airs of joy and triumph. Antony followed her close in a galley almost as splendid. That queen *, drunk with her fortune and grandeur, and hearkening only to her unbridled ambition, foolishly threatened the capitol with approaching ruin, and prepared, with her infamous troop of eunuchs, utterly to subvert the Roman empire.

On the other side, less pomp and splendour was seen, but more utility. Cæsar had only 250 ships, and 80,000 foot, with as many horse as Antony. But all his troops were chosen men, and on board his fleet, were none but experienced seamen. His vessels were not so large as Antony's, but they were much lighter, and fitter for service.

Cæsar's rendezvous was at Brundisium, and Antony advanced to Corcyra. But the season of the year was over, and bad weather came on; so that they were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter-quarters, and their fleets into good ports till spring came on.

† Antony and Cæsar, as soon as the season would admit, took the field both by sea and land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian gulf in Epirus. Antony's bravest and most experienced officers advised him not hazard a battle by sea, to send back Cleopatra into Egypt, and to make all possible haste into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; because his army, composed of good troops, and much superior in number to Cæsar's, seemed to promise him the victory, whereas

*—————Dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas,
Fusus et imperio parabat,
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum; quidlibet impotens
Sperare, fortunaque dulci
Ebria—————

Hor. Od. 37. l. l.

Whilst drunk with fortune's heady wine,
Fill'd with vast hope, though impotent in arms,
The haughty queen conceives the wild design,
So much her vain ambition charms,
With her polluted band of supple slaves,
Her silken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,
The capitol in dust to level low,
And give Rome's empire, and the world, a last and fatal blow †

† A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31.

a fleet so ill manned as his, how numerous soever it might be, was by no means to be relied on. But it was long since Antony had not been susceptible of good advice, and had acted only to please Cleopatra. That proud princess, who judged things solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæsar's ships could not approach it without being dashed to pieces. Besides, she perceived aright, that in case of misfortune it would be easier for her to escape in her ships than by land. Her opinion therefore took place against the advice of all the generals.

† The battle was fought upon the second of September, at the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia, near the city of Aclium, in sight of both the land armies; the one of which was drawn up in battle upon the north, and the other upon the south of that strait, expecting the event. It was doubtful for some time, and seemed as much in favour of Antony as Cæsar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightened with the noise of the battle, in which every thing was terrible to a woman, took to flight, when she was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian squadron, that consisted of 60 ships of the line: with which she sailed for the coast of Peloponnesus. Antony, who saw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting even himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cæsar, which till then he had exceedingly well disputed. It, however, cost the victor extremely dear: for Antony's ships fought so well after his departure, that though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; so that Cæsar's troops were obliged to pass it on board their ships.

The next day, Cæsar seeing his victory complete, detached a squadron in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra. But that squadron despairing of ever coming up with them, because so far before it, soon returned to join the gross of the fleet. Antony having entered the admiral galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and sat down at the head of it: where, leaning his elbows on his knees, and supporting his head with his two hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with shame and rage; reflecting, with profound melancholy, upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes she had brought upon him. He kept in that posture, and in those thoughts, during the three days they were going to Tænarus*, without seeing or speaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time, they saw each other again, and lived together as usual.

The land army still remained entire, and consisted of 18 legions, and 22,000 horse, under the command of Canidius, Antony's lieutenant-general, and might have made head, and given Cæsar abundance of difficulty; but seeing themselves abandon-

† The 4th before the nones of September.

* A promontory of Laconia.

ed by their general, they surrendered to Cæsar, who received them with open arms.

From Tænarus Cleopatra took the route of Alexandria, and Antony that of Libya, where he had left a considerable army to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing he was informed, that Scarpus, who commanded this army, had declared for Cæsar. He was so struck with this news, which he had no room to expect, that he would have killed himself, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his friends. He therefore had no other choice to make, than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she had arrived.

When she approached that port, she was afraid, if her misfortune should be known, that she should be refused entrance. She therefore caused her ships to be crowned, as if she was returned victorious; and no sooner landed, than she caused all the great lords of her kingdom, whom she suspected, to be put to death, lest they should excite seditions against her, when they were informed of her defeat. Antony found her in the midst of these bloody executions.

* Soon after, she formed another very extraordinary design. To avoid falling into Cæsar's hands, who, she foresaw, would follow her into Egypt, she designed to have her ships in the Mediterranean carried into the Red sea, over the isthmus between them, which is no more than 30 leagues broad, and afterwards to put all her treasures on board those ships, and the others which she had in that sea. But the Arabians, who inhabited the coast, having burned all the ships she had there, she was obliged to abandon her design.

Changing therefore her resolution, she thought only of gaining Cæsar, whom she looked upon as her conqueror, and to make him a sacrifice of Antony, whose misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was this princess's disposition. Though she loved even to madness, she had still more ambition than love, and the crown being dearer to her than a husband, she entertained hopes of preserving it, at the price of Antony's life. But concealing her sentiments from him, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambassadors with his, but gave them instructions to treat separately for herself. Cæsar would not so much as see Antony's ambassadors. He dismissed Cleopatra's with a favourable answer. He passionately desired to make sure of her person and treasures; her person, to adorn his triumph; her treasures, to enable him to discharge the debts he had contracted upon account of this war. He therefore gave her reason to conceive great hopes, in case she would sacrifice Antony to him.

The latter, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country-house, which he had caused to be built expressly on the

banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In this retirement it might have been expected, that he would hear with pleasure the wise discourses of those wise philosophers. But as they could not banish from his heart his love for Cleopatra, the sole cause of all his misfortunes, that passion, which they had only suspended, soon resumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himself again to the charms and caresses of Cleopatra, and, with design to please her, sent deputies again to Cæsar, to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person, provided Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

The second deputation not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Antony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself immoderately to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and strove with emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foresaw what might happen, collected all sorts of poisons, and to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain, she made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon criminals in the prisons condemned to die. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with great torment ; and that those which were gentle, brought on an easy, but slow death ; she tried the biting of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds of serpents to be applied to different persons. She made these experiments every day, and discovered at length, that the aspic was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions ; and which, throwing the persons bit into an immediate heaviness and stupefaction, attended with a slight sweating upon the face, and a numbness of all the organs of sense, gently extinguished life ; so that those in that condition were angry when any one awakened them, or endeavoured to make them rise, like people exceedingly sleepy. This was the poison she fixed upon.

To dispel Antony's suspicions and subjects of complaint, she applied herself with more than ordinary solicitude, in caressing him. Though she celebrated her own birth-day with little solemnity, and suitably to her present condition, she kept that of Antony with a splendour and magnificence above what she had ever instanced before ; so that many of the guests who came poor to that feast, went rich from it.

Cæsar, knowing how important it was to him not to leave his victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the spring into Syria, and from thence sat down before Pesusium. He sent to summon the governor to open the gates to him ; and Seleucus,

who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received secret orders upon that head, surrendered the place without waiting a siege. The rumour of this treason spread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herself of the accusation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into Antony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery, by putting them to death. What a monster was this princess ! The most odious of vices were united in her person ; professed immodesty, breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and what crowns all the rest, the false outside of a deceitful amity, which covers a design formed to deliver up to his enemy the person she loads with the most tender caresses, and with marks of the warmest and most sincere attachment. Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Isis, she had caused tombs and halls to be erected, superb as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftiness and extent. Thither she ordered her most precious moveables to be carried ; gold, silver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatic wood ; as if she intended to raise a funeral pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Cæsar, alarmed for the latter and apprehending lest her despair should induce her to burn them, dispatched every day some person to her to give her great hopes of the most kind and generous treatment, and nevertheless advanced towards the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there, he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hopes of making himself master of the city soon, by means of the intelligence he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no less than upon his army.

Antony was ignorant of that prince's intrigues, and being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, he prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous sally ; and after having severely handled the besiegers, and warmly pursued to the very gates of their camp a detachment of horse, which had been sent against him, he returned victorious into the city. This was the last effort of his expiring valour ; for after this exploit, his fortitude and sense of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any service to him. Instead of making use of this advantage, and of applying himself seriously to his defence, by observing the motions of Cleopatra, who betrayed him, he came, completely armed as he was, to throw himself at her feet, and to kiss her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately resounded with acclamations, as if the siege had been raised ; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amusing Antony, ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared, at which they passed the rest of the day, and part of the night together.

Early on the morrow, Antony resolved to attack Cæsar by sea and land. He drew up his land-army upon some eminences

in the city, and from thence kept his galleys in view, which were going out of the port, in order to charge those of Cæsar. He waited without making any motion, to see the success of that attack; but was wuch astonished when he saw Cleopatra's admiral strike his flag, when he came in view of Cæsar's, and surrender his whole fleet to him.

This treason opened Antony's eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity, he was for signalising himself by an extraordinary act of valour, capable, in his sense, of doing him abundance of honour. He sent to challenge Cæsar to a single combat. Cæsar made answer, that if Antony was weary of life, there were other ways to die besides that. Antony seeing himself ridiculed by Cæsar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. Seized with rage and despair, he then flew to the palace, with design to avenge himself upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artful princess, who had foreseen what happened, to escape the rage of Antony, had retired into the quarter where stood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified with good walls, and of which she had ordered the gates to be closed. She caused Antony to be told, that, preferring an honourable death to a shameful captivity, she had killed herself in the midst of her ancestors' tombs, where she had also chose her own sepulchre. Antony, too credulous, did not give himself time to examine a piece of news, which he ought to have suspected, after all Cleopatra's other infidelities, and struck with the idea of her death, passed immediately from excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, and thought only of following her into the grave.

Having taken this furious resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a slave, and having caused his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breast; but that slave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Antony, looking upon this action as an example for him to follow, thrust his sword into his body, and fell upon the floor in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that of his slave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know that she was alive. He no sooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes, and being informed that she was not dead, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and afterwards caused himself to be carried to the fort where she had caused herself to be shut up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance, for fear of some surprise; but she appeared at an high window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Antony was made fast to these, and Cleopatra, assisted by two women, who were the only persons

she had brought with her into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving sight. Antony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands, towards Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his last breath ; whilst she, with her features distorted, and her arms strained, pulled the cords with her whole strength ; the people below, who could give her no further aid, encouraging her with their cries.

When she had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, she tore her clothes upon him, and beating her breast, and wiping the blood from his wound, with her face close to his, she called him her prince, her lord, her dearest spouse. Whilst she made those mournful exclamations, she cut off Antony's hair, according to the superstition of the pagans, who believed that a relief to those who died a violent death.

Antony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, said to her, to comfort her, that he thought himself happy as he died in her arms ; and that, as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, it being no disgrace for a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards advised her to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do so with honour ; to be upon her guard against the traitors of her own court, as well as the Romans in Cæsar's train, and to trust only Proculeius. He expired with these words.

The same moment Proculeius arrived from Cæsar, who could not refrain from tears at the sad relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword still reeking with Antony's blood, which was presented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive, if possible. That princess refused to surrender herself to him. She had however a conversation with him, without letting him enter the tomb. He only came close to the gates, which were well fastened, but gave passage for the voice through cracks. They talked a considerable time together : during which she continually asked the kingdom for her children ; whilst he exhorted her to hope the best, and pressed her to confide all her interests to Cæsar. Proculeius, after having considered the place well, went to make his report to Cæsar, who immediately sent Gallus to talk again with her. Gallus went to the gates, as Proculeius had done, and spoke, like him, through the crevices, protracting the conversation on purpose. In the mean while Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, and entered the tomb by the same window through which she and her women had drawn up Antony, and, followed by two officers who were with him, went down to the gate where she was speaking to Gallus. One of the two women who were shut up with her, seeing him come, cried out, quite out of her senses with fear and surprise, " O unfortunate Cleopatra, you are taken ! " Cleopatra turned her head, saw Proculeius, and would

have stabbed herself with a dagger, which she always carried at her girdle : but Proculeius ran nimbly to her, took her in his arms, and said to her, " you wrong yourself and Cæsar too, in depriving him of so grateful an occasion of showing his goodness and clemency." At the same time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and shook her robes, lest she should have concealed poison in them.

Cæsar sent one of his freedmen, named Epaphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully, to prevent her making any attempt upon herself, and to behave to her, at the same time, with all the regard and complacency she could desire : he likewise instructed Proculeius to ask the queen what she desired of him.

Cæsar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conquest of which there were no longer any to dispute with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme consternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, conversing with the philosopher Ariacus, upon whom he leaned with an air of familiarity, to signify publicly the regard he had for him. Being arrived at the palace, he ascended a tribunal, which he ordered to be erected there ; and seeing the whole people prostrate upon the ground, he commanded them to rise. He then told them, that he pardoned them, for three reasons : the first, upon the account of Alexander their founder ; the second, for the beauty of their city ; and the third, for the sake of Ariacus, one of their citizens, whose merit and knowledge he esteemed.

Proculeius, in the meantime, acquitted himself of his commission to the queen, who at first asked nothing of Cæsar, but his permission to bury Antony, which was granted her without difficulty. She spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the east, and placed it among the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæsar did not think proper to see Cleopatra in the first days of her mourning ; but when he believed he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having asked her permission ; being desirous to conceal his designs under the regard he professed for her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very simple and negligent manner. When he entered her chamber, though she had nothing on but a single tunic, she rose immediately, and went to throw herself at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair loose and disordered, her visage wild and haggard ; her voice faltering, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping, and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That natural grace and lofty mein, which she derived from her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct ; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which she was reduced, even through the depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, shot forth

pointed graces, and a kind of radiance, which brightened in her looks, and in every motion of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cæsar and Antony.

The chamber where she received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cæsar. "My lord," said she to him, pointing to those pictures, "behold those images of him who adopted you his successor in the Roman empire, and to whom I was obliged for my crown." Then taking letters out of her bosom, which she had concealed in it: "see also," said she, kissing them, "the dear testimonies of his love." She afterwards read some the most tender of them, commenting upon them, at proper intervals, with moving acclamations, and passionate glances; but she employed those arts with no success; for whether her charms had no longer the power they had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæsar's ruling passion, he did not seem affected with either her person or conversation; contenting himself with exhorting her to take courage, and with assuring her of his good intentions. She was far from not discerning that coldness, from which she conceived no good augury; but dissembling her concern, and changing the discourse, she thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and he had thought fit to repeat in person. She added, that in return, she would deliver to him all the treasures of the kings of Egypt; and in effect, she put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues; and as Seleucus one of her treasurers, who was present, reproached her with not declaring the whole, and with having concealed part of her most valuable effects, incensed at so great an insult, she rose up, ran to him, and gave him several blows on the face. Then turning towards Cæsar, "is it not a horrible thing," said she to him, "that when you have not disdained to visit me, and have thought fit to console me in the sad condition I now am, my own domestics should accuse me before you of retaining some women's jewels, not to adorn a miserable person as I am, but for a present to your sister Octavia; and your wife Livia; that their protection may induce you to afford a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate princess?"

Cæsar was exceedingly pleased to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inspired her with such language. He told her she might dispose as she pleased of the jewels she had reserved: and after having assured her, that he would treat her with more generosity and magnificence than she could imagine, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, and was deceived himself.

Not doubting but Cæsar intended to make her serve as an op-

nament to his triumph, she had no other thoughts than to avoid that shame by dying. She well knew, that she was observed by the guards who had been assigned her, and, under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where : and besides that her time was short, Cæsar's departure approaching. The better therefore to amuse him, she sent to desire, that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Antony, and take her leave of him. Cæsar having granted her that permission, she went thither accordingly to bath that tomb with her tears, and to assure Antony, to whom she addressed her discourse as if he had been present before her eyes, that she would soon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal protestation, which she accompanied with sighs and laments, she caused the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath, and from the bath to table, having ordered it to be served magnificently. When she rose from table, she wrote a letter to Cæsar ; and having made all quit her chamber except her two women, she shut the door, sat down upon a bed, and asked for a basket of figs, which a peasant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after lay down as if she had fallen asleep : but that was the effect of the aspic, which was concealed amongst the fruit, and had stung her in the arm, which she had held to it. The poison immediately communicated itself to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing pass without a strict search into it ; but the disguised peasant, who was one of the queen's faithful servants, played his part so well, and there seemed so little appearance of design in a basket of figs, that the guards suffered him to enter. Thus all Cæsar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's resolution, after having read the letter she had wrote to him, to desire that he would suffer her body to be laid in the same tomb with that of Antony, and instantly dispatched two officers to prevent it. But notwithstanding all the haste they could make, they found her dead.

That * princess was too haughty, and too much above the

* *Ausa et jacentem visere regiam*

Vultu sereno fortis, et asperas

Tractare serpentes, ut atrum

Corpore combiberet venenum.

Deliberata morte ferocior ;

Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens,

Privata deduci superbo,

Non humilis mulier triumpho. Hor. Od. xxvii. l. 1.

Not the dark palace of the realms below

Can awe the furious purpose of her soul ;

Calmly she looks, from her superior woe,

vulgar, to suffer herself to be led in triumph at the wheels of the victor's chariot. Determined to die, and thence become capable of the fiercest resolutions, she saw, with dry eyes and indifference the mortal venom of the aspic glide into her veins.

She died at 39 years of age, of which she had reigned 22 from the death of her father. The statues of Antony were thrown down, and those of Cleopatra remained as they were, Archibius, who had long been in her service, having given Cæsar 1000 talents, that they might not be treated as Antony's had been.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire; and governed by a præfect sent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, to date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued 295 years, from the year of the world 3661 to 3956.

Conclusion of the Ancient History.

We have seen hitherto, without speaking of the first and ancient kingdom of Egypt, and of some states separate, and in a manner entirely distinct from the rest, three great successive empires, founded on the ruin of each other, subsist during a long series of ages, and at length entirely disappear; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Persians, and the empire of the Macedonians and the Grecian princes, successors of Alexander the Great. A fourth empire arises, that of the Romans, which having already swallowed up most of those which have preceded it, will extend its conquests, and after having subjected all to its power by force of arms, be itself torn in a manner into different pieces, and by being so dismembered, make way for the establishment of almost all the kingdoms which now divide Europe, Asia, and Africa. Behold here, to speak properly, an abridged picture of all ages; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world; in a word, of all that human greatness has of most splendid, and most capable of exciting admiration! All these, by an happy concurrence, generally unite in it: height of genius, delicacy of taste, attended with solid judgment; the excellent taste of eloquence, carried to the highest degree of perfection, without departing from the natural and the true; the glory of arms, with that of arts and sciences; valour in conquering; and ability in government. What

That can both death and fear control;
Provokes the serpent's sting, his rage disdains,
And joys to feel his poison in her veins.
Invidious to the victor's fancy'd pride,
She will not from her own descend,
Disgrac'd, a vulgar captive, by his side,
His pompous triumph to attend;
But fiercely flies to death, and bids her sorrows end.

a multitude of great men of every kind does it not present to our view! What powerful, what glorious kings! What great captains! What famous conquerors! What wise magistrates! What learned philosophers! What admirable legislators! We are transported with beholding in certain ages and countries, as if peculiar to themselves, an ardent zeal for justice, a passionate love for their country, a noble disinterestedness, a generous contempt of riches, and an esteem for poverty, which astonish and amaze us, so much they appear above human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But whilst we are in admiration and extacy at the view of so many shining virtues, the Supreme Judge, who can alone estimate all things, sees nothing in them but trifle, meanness, vanity, and pride; and whilst mankind are continually busied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms, and eternising themselves, if that were possible, God, from his throne on high overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his purposes, infinitely superior to our understandings. He alone knows his operations and designs. All ages are present to him: "he seeth from everlasting to everlasting." He has assigned all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions, we have seen that nothing is come to pass by chance. We know, that under the image of that statue which Nebuchodonosor saw of an enormous height and terrible aspect, with the head of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, God thought fit to represent the four great empires, uniting in them, as we have seen in the course of this history, all that is glorious, grand, formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occasion for overthrowing this immense colossus? "† A small stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and break them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."

We see with our own eyes the accomplishment of this admirable prophecy of Daniel, at least in part. Jesus Christ, who descended to clothe himself with flesh and blood in the sacred womb of the blessed virgin, without the participation of man, is the small stone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteristics of his person, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching his disciples, in a word, of every thing that relates to him, were simplicity, poverty, and humility; which were so extreme, that they concealed from the

* Eccles. xxxix. 19.

† Dan. c. ii. v. 34, 35.

eyes of the proud Jews the divine lustre of his miracles, how shining soever it was, and from the light of the devil himself, as penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithstanding that seeming weakness, and even meanness, Jesus Christ will certainly conquer the whole universe. It is under this idea a prophet represents him to us : “ † he went forth conquering and to conquer.” His work and mission are, “ to set up a kingdom for his father, which shall never be destroyed : and the kingdom which shall not be left to other people ;” like those of which we have seen in the history ; “ but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms ;” and it shall stand for ever.

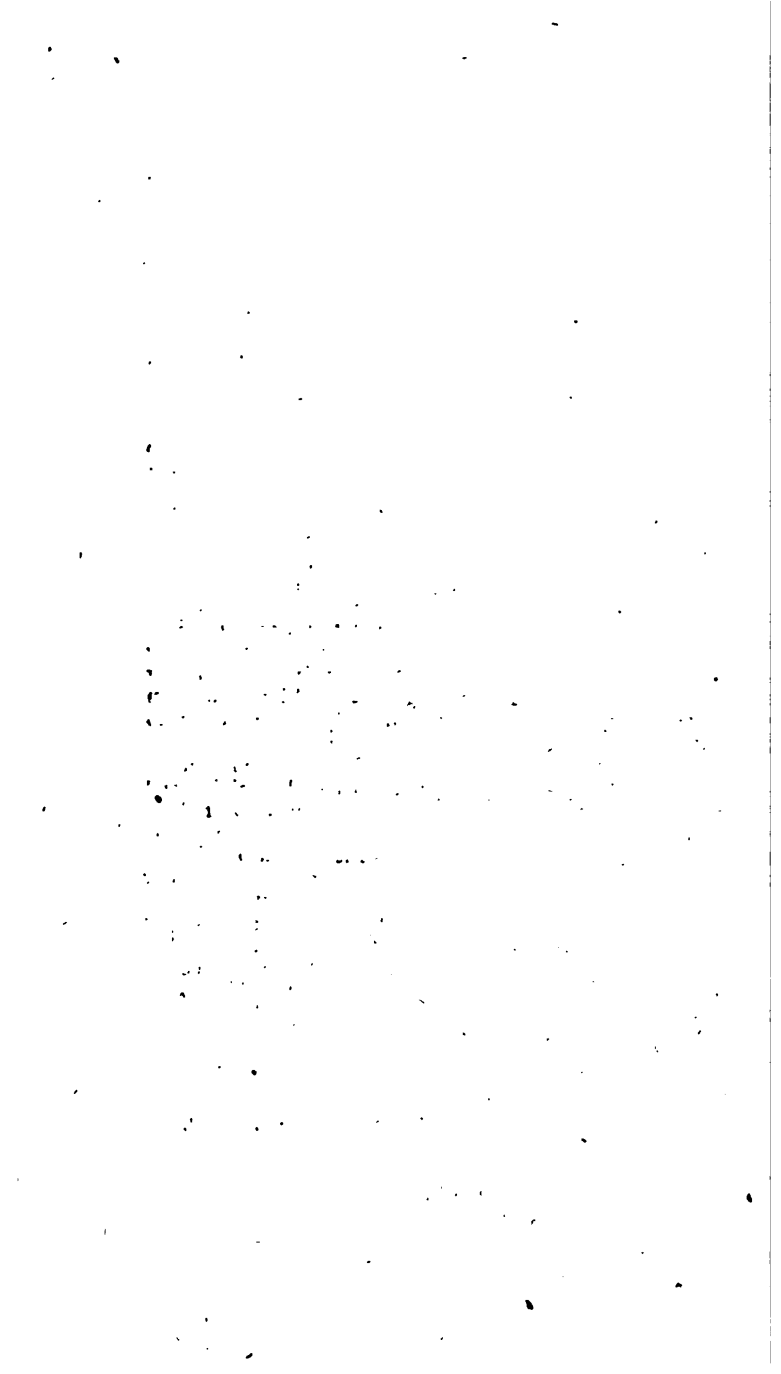
The power granted to Jesus Christ, the founder of this empire, is without bounds, measure, or end. The kings, who glory so much in their puissance, have nothing which approaches in the least to that of Jesus Christ. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. Their subjects can think as they please independently of them. There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which escape their knowledge as well as their power. Their designs often miscarry and come to nothing, even during their own lives. But with Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise : “ * all power is given unto him in heaven and in earth.” He exercises it principally upon the ears and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order or permission. Every thing is disposed by his wisdom and power, every thing co-operates directly or indirectly to the accomplishment of his designs.

Whilst all things are in motion, and fluctuate upon earth ; whilst states and empires pass away with incredible rapidity, and the human race, vainly employed in the external view of these things, are also drawn in by the same torrent, almost without perceiving it ; there passes in secret an order and disposition of things unknown and invisible, which, however, determine our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end than the formation of the bodies of the elect, which augments, and tends daily towards perfection. When it shall receive its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect ; “ † then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father ; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power.” God grant that we may all have our share in that blessed kingdom, whose law is truth, whose kingdom is love, and whose duration is eternity. *Fiat, fiat.*

† Apoc. vi. 2.

* Matth. xxviii. 18.

† 1 Cor. xv. 24.



INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

CHRONOLOGY.

CHRONOLOGY is the knowledge of times. It shows to what year the events related in history are to be referred. The years used for measuring the duration of time are either solar or lunar.

The solar year is that space of time between one equinox and another of the same denomination the next year : for instance, from the vernal equinox to the vernal equinox following, which contains 365 days 5 hours and 49 minutes.

The lunar year is composed of 12 lunar months, of which each is 29 days 12 hours and 44 minutes, that make in all 354 days 8 hours and 48 minutes.

Both of these years are called astronomical, to distinguish them from that vulgarly used, which is termed civil or political.

Though nations may not agree amongst themselves in the manner of determining their years, some regulating them by the sun's motion, and others by the moon's, they however generally use the solar year in chronology. It seems at first, that as the lunar years are shorter than the solar, that inequality should produce some error in chronological calculations ; but it is to be observed, that the people who used lunar years, added a certain number of the intercalary days to make them agree with the solar ; which reconciles them with each other, or at least, if there be any difference, it may be neglected when the question is only to determine the year in which a fact has happened.

In chronology there are certain times distinguished by some great event, to which all the rest are referred. * These are called epochs, from a Greek word, which signifies to stay, because we stay there to consider, as from a resting place, all that has happened before or after, and by that means to avoid anachronisms ; that is to say, those errors which induce confusion of times.

The choice of the events which are to serve as epochs is arbitrary ; and a writer of history may take such as best suit his plan.

When we begin to compute years from one of those points distinguished by a considerable event, the enumeration and series of such years are called eras. There are almost as many eras as there have been different nations. The principal and most used are those of the World, of Jesus Christ, of the Olympiads, and of Rome. I should have been glad to have used all the four in the chronological table at the end of my history : but the narrow compass of these pages obliges me to confine myself to the two most famous ; that is to say, that of the World, and that of Jesus Christ.

Every body knows that the Olympiads derive their origin from the Olympic games, which were celebrated in Peloponnesus, near the city of Olympia. These games were so solemn, that Greece made them her epoch for computing her years. By Olympiad is meant the space of 4 years complete, which is the time that elapsed between one celebration of games and another. The first used by chronologers begins, according to Usher, in the summer of the year of the world 3228, before Christ 776. When the time on which an event happened is reckoned by the Olympiads, authors say the first, second, or third, &c. year of such an Olympiad ; which being once known, it is easy to find the year of the world to which the same fact is to be referred ; and in like manner, when the year of the world is known, it is easy to find that of the Olympiad which agrees with it.

Rome was built according to Varro's Chronology, in the year of the world 3251, and the 753 before Jesus Christ. Cato dates the foundation of that city two years later, in the year of the world 3253, before Jesus Christ 751. I shall follow the opinion of the latter in my Roman History. The years reckoned from this epoch are called indifferently years of Rome, or years from the foundation of the city.

The Julian period is also a famous era in chronology, used principally for reckoning the years before Christ. I am going to explain wherein this period consists, and its use ; but, first, I must give the reader an idea of the three cycles, of which it is composed.

By the word cycle, the revolution of a certain number of years is understood.

The solar cycle is a term of 28 years, which includes all the variation that the Sundays and days of the week admit, that is to say, at the end of 28 years the first seven letters of the alphabet, which are used in the kalendar for noting the day of the week, and which are called dominical letters, return in the same order in which they were at first. To un-

Understand what I have now said, it must be observed, that if the year had only 52 weeks, there would be no change in the order of the dominical letters ; but as it has a day more, and two in leap year, that produces all the variations included in the space of 28 years, of which the solar cycle consists.

The lunar cycle, called also the golden number, is the revolution of 19 years, at the end of which the moon returns, within near an hour and a half, to the same point with the sun, and begins its lunations again in the same order as at first. We are indebted for the invention of the lunar cycle to Meton, a famous Athenian astronomer. Before the invention of the epacts, it was used for marking the days of the new moon in the calendar.

Besides these two cycles chronologers admit of a third also, called indiction. This is a revolution of 15 years, of which the first is called the first indiction, the second, the second indiction, and so on to the fifteenth ; after which they begin again to count the first indiction, &c.

The first indiction is generally supposed to have begun three years before the birth of Christ.

If these three cycles, that is to say, 28, 19, and 15, are multiplied by each other, the product will be 7980, which is what is called the Julian period.

One of the properties of this period is to give the three characteristic cycles of each year, that is to say, the current year of the three cycles ; for example, every body knows that the vulgar era commences at the year 4714 of the Julian period. If that number be divided by 28, what remains * after the division shows the solar cycle of that year. In the same manner the lunar cycle and the indiction may be found. It is demonstrated that the three numbers which express these three cycles cannot be found again in the same order in any other year of the Julian period. It is the same in respect to the cycles of other years.

If we trace this period back to its first year, that is to say, to the year when the three cycles of which it is composed began, we shall find it precede the creation of the world 710 years, supposing the creation to precede the vulgar era only 4004 years.

This period is also called Julian, because it is made to agree with the years of Julius Cæsar. Scaliger invented it to reconcile the systems that divided the chronologers concerning

* I say what remains, and not the quotient, as some authors do : for the quotient expresses the number of cycles elapsed since the beginning of the period, and what remains after the division shows the year of the current cycle.

the length of time elapsed since the beginning of the world. There are who believe that only 4004 years of the world are to be reckoned before Jesus Christ. Others give more extent to that space, and augment the number of years of which it consists. These variations disappear when the Julian period is used ; for every body agrees in respect to the year in which it began, and there is nobody who does not know that the first year of the vulgar era falls in the 4714th of that period. Thus in the Julian period there are two fixed points which unite all systems, and reconcile all chronologers.

It is easy to find the year of the Julian period that answers to any year whatsoever of the vulgar era of the world : for as the beginning of the Julian period precedes that era 710 years, by adding that number to the year proposed of the era of the world, we have the year of the Julian period that answers to it. For instance, we know that the battle of Arbela was fought in the year of the world 3678. If to that number we add 710, it will be 4388, which number expresses the year of the Julian period to which the battle of Arbela is to be referred.

It remains for me to say a few words upon the order I have observed in my Chronological Table. At first I proposed to make as many columns as there are different nations in my book, whose history falls out in the same times, and to place them all in the same line with each other, in order that all the events that happened in the same year might be seen at one view : but, besides my not having sufficient room to place so many columns side by side with each other, I found that I should have been obliged to leave too many blank spaces, which would have considerably lengthened the tables, and in consequence swelled the volume, that, as it is, is very large. I therefore chose to separate the Carthaginians and Syracusans, and to give their chronology apart. The histories of those two people are abundantly interwoven with each other, and have little relation to those of the other nations of whom I have treated.

The reader knows that hitherto I have not entered into chronological discussions, and undoubtedly does not expect that I should do so now. I shall generally follow Usher, whom I have chosen for my guide in this subject.

THE TABLE.

A.M. A.C.

Assyrians.

- 1800-2204 Nimrod, founder of the first empire of the Assyrians.
 Ninus, son of Nimrod.
 Semiramis. She reigned 42 years.
 Ninyas.

The history of the successors of Ninyas for 30 generations, except of Phul and Sardanapallus, is unknown.

*Egypt.**Greece.*

- 1816-2188 Menes, or Mearaim, first king of Egypt.
 Busiris.
 Osymandias.
 Ochoreus.
 Mœris.

1915-2069

Foundation of the kingdom of Sicily.

- 1920-2084 The king-shepherds seize the lower Egypt. They reign 260 years.

- 2084-1980 Abraham enters Egypt, where Sarah is in great danger from one of the king-shepherds.

2148-1856

Foundation of the kingdom of Argos. Deluge of Ogyges in Attica.

- 2179-1823 Thetmosis expels the king-shepherds, and reigns in the lower Egypt.

- 2276-1728 Joseph is carried into Egypt, and sold to Potiphar.

- 2298-1706 Jacob goes into Egypt with his family.

- 2427-1577 Ramesses-Miamum begins to reign in Egypt. He persecutes the Israelites.

- 2448-1556 Cecrops carries a colony from Egypt, and founds the kingdom of Athens. Foundation of the kingdom of Athens by Cecrops. He institutes the Areopagus.

A.M.A.C.

Egypt.

Greece.

2482 1516

Under Cranaus, successor of Cecrops, happens Deucalion's flood.

Foundation of the kingdom of Lacedæmonia, of which Lelex is the first king.

2494 1510 Amenophis, the eldest son of Ramesses, succeeds him.

2515 1491 The Israelites quit Egypt. Amenophis is swallowed up in the Red sea. Sesostris his son succeeds him. He divides Egypt into 30 nomes, or districts, renders Ethiopia tributary, conquers Asia, and subdues the Scythians as far as the Tanais. On his return into Egypt, he kills himself, after a reign of 83 years.

2530 1474

Danaus, brother of Sesostris, leaves Egypt, and retires into the Peloponnesus, where he makes himself master of Argos.

2547 1457 Pheron succeeds Sesostris.

Perseus, the fifth of Danaus's successors, having unfortunately killed his grandfather, abandons Argos, and founds the kingdom of Mycene.

2628 1376

Sisypheus, the son of Æolus, makes himself master of Corinth.

2710 1294

The descendants of Sisypheus are driven out of Corinth by the Heraclidæ.

2720 1284

Ægeus, the son of Pandion, king of Attica. The expedition of the Argonauts is dated in the reign of this prince.

2890 1204 Proteus. In his reign Paris is driven into Egypt on his selfe; from whence they are return to Troy with Helenus; Rhampsinith.—Cheops.—Chephrem.—Mycerinus.—Asychis.

The six preceding reigns

A.M. A.C.

Egypt.

Greece.

were 170 years in duration;
but it is hard to assign the
length of each of them in
particular.

2320 1184

2900 1104

Troy taken by the Greeks.
The Heraclidæ re-enter
Peloponnesus, and seize Spar-
ta, where the brothers Eu-
rysthenes and Procles reign
together.

2934 1070

Institution of the archons
at Athens. Medon, the son
of Codrus, is the first.

2949 1055

Cadmus builds the city of
Thebes, and makes it the seat
of his government.

2991 1013. Pharaoh king of Egypt
gives his daughter in mar-
riage to Solomon.

3026 978 Sesac, otherwise called Se-
sonchis. It was with him
that Jeroboam took refuge.

3033 971 Sesac marches against Je-
rusalem, and conquers Judæa.

3063 941 Zara king of Egypt makes
war with Asa king of Judah.

Anysis. In his reign Sab-
acus, king of Ethiopia, makes
himself master of Egypt,
reigns there 50 years; after
which he retires, and leaves
the kingdom to Anysis.

3120 884

3160 844

Lycurgus.

Homer. Hesiod lived ab-
out the same time.

3210 794

Caranus founds the king-
dom of Macedonia.

3228 776

Beginning of the common
era of the Olympiads.

*I return to the chronology of the Assyrians, which I discontinued,
because from Ninias down to about this time, nothing is known of
their history.*

Assyrians.

2999 771 Phul, the king of Nineveh, who repented upon Jonah's
preaching.

3237 767 Sardanapalus, the last king of the first empire of the
S. 2.

A.M. A.C.

Assyrians.

Assyrians. After a reign of 20 years, he burns himself in his palace.

The first empire of the Assyrians, which ended at the death of Sardanapalus, had subsisted more than 1450 years. Out of its ruins three others were formed; that of the Assyrians of Babylon; that of the Assyrians of Nineveh; and that of the Medes.

3257 747	<i>Egypt. Greece Babylon Persia Media Lydia.</i>
	Belesia, Theg- Arba- or Nabo-lath Pha-ces exet- natar. lasar. cises the The The 8th sovereign scripture year of authority calls him his reign over the Baladan. he aids Medes,
3261 743.	First war be- tween the Messeni- ans and Lacedæ- monians. It contin- ues 20 years. Ahaz without The He- king of taking raclidæ Judah, & upon him possess makes the title the king- himself of king. dom of master of Lydia Syria, and 805 years. of part of Argon the king was the dom of first king. Judah. He began to reign A.M. 2781.
3266 786	Mero- sch Ba- ladan. He sent am- bassadors to Heze- kiah, to congrat- ulate him upon the Salma- recovery naser. The 8th year of his reign he took Samaria, and carri- ed away the peo- ple into captivity. The his- tory of his suc- cessors is little known before. Candaules.
3269 735	Archil- ochus the of his famous health. Nothing is known of the other kings who reigned in Baby- lon.
3290 724	
3285 719	
3286 718	He famous poet. reign- ed 14 years.
	Gyges He puts Candaules to death, and reigns in his stead.

A.M. A.C. Egypt. Greece. Babylon. Nineveh. Media. Lydia.

3287 717

Sennacherib.
In the 5th
year of
his reign
he makes
war
against
Hezeki-
ah king of
Judah.

An an-
gel des-
troys his
army at
the time
he is be-
sieging
Jerusa-
lem. On
his return
to his
kingdom
he is kill-
ed by his
two sons.

3294 710

3296 708

3298 706 Tharaca
reigns 18
years.
Anarchy
2 years in
Egypt.

3319 685 Twelve

3320 684 of the Second

3323 681 principal war be-

3324 680 lords of tween the
Egypt Lacedæ-
seize the monians
kingdom, and Mes-
of which senians
each gov- 14 years
erns a
part with
equal au-
thority.

3327 677 Psamtai-

Asar-
haddon.

Dejoces
causes
himself
to be de-
clared
king of
the
Medes.

Asar-
haddon
unites the
empire of
Babylon
with that
of Nine-
veh.

Death
of Gyges.
Ardys
his son
succeeds
him. In
his reign,
of 49
years, the
Cimmeri-
cus, one

A.M.A.C. *Egypt.* *Greece.* *Babylon.* *Nineveh.* *Media.* *Lydia.*

333 4670 of the 12
kings, de-
feats the
other 11,
and re-
mains
sole mas-
ter of
Egypt.
He takes
Asoth af-
ter a siege
of 29
years.

Asar-
haddon
carries
the re-
mains of
the king-
dom of
Israel in-
to Assy-
ria. The
same year
he puts
Manas-
seh in
chains, &
carries
him into
Babylon.

ans made
them-
selves
masters
of Sardinia.

Babylon and Nineveh.

3335 669

3347 657

Sacoduchin, or Na-
bucodonosor I. The Death
12th year of his of Dejo-
reign he defeats ces.
Phraortes, king of Phraor-
the Medes, and tes suc-
takes Ecbatana. It ceeds
was after this expe-
dition that he made
Holophernes be-
siege Bethulia.

3356 648

3364 640

3369 635

3373 631

3378 629

Death of Nabuco-
Tyrtens, donosor. Saracus,
a poet called also Chyna- Phraor-
who ex-ladanus, succeeded tes peri- Sadyat-
celled in him. shes at tes. He
celebrat- Nabopolassar's re- the siege forms the
ing mili-volt against Sara- of Nine- siege of
tary vir-cus. He makes veh, with Miletus
tue. himself master of part of in the
Thales, Babylon. his army. 16th year.
of Mile- Cyaxares of his
tus, foun- his son reign.
der of the succeeds
Ionic sect. him. The
second
year of
his reign.

St. M. A. C. Egypt Greece. Babylon and Nineveh. Media Lydia.

he beats
the As-
syrians,
and at-
tacks Ni-
neveh,
the siege
of which
he is o-
bliged to
abandon
by a sud-
den ir-
ruption
of the
Scythians
into his
domin-
ions.

- 3380 624 Draco, Destruction of Ni- Cyaxares
3385 619 legislator neveh. Fromthence joins his Alyattes
3388 616 Nechao. of forth Babylon was forces. He conti-
The 7th Athens. the capital of the with nues the
year of Assyrian empire. those of siege of
his reign Nabopo- Miletus,
he de- lassar, which
3397 607feats the Nabopolassar as- takes Ni- had been
king of sociates his son Na- neveh, carried
Assyria bucodonosor in the and puts on six
andseizes empire, and sends Saracus years by
part of him at the head of its king his father,
his do- an army to recon- to death, and puts
minions. quer the countries an end to
Hereign- taken from him by it six
ed 16 Nechao. years af-
3398 606years. Jerusalem taken ter, by
by Nabucodonosor. conclud-
He transports a ing a
great number of peace.
Jews to Babylon, with the
and among them besieged.
the prophet Daniel. In the
The captivity be- same
gins from his carry- prince's
ing away the Jews reign
to Babylon. there was
3399 605; Death of Nabopo- a war be-
3400 604 Solon. lassar. His son Na- tween the

<i>Ann. A.C.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Greece.</i>	<i>Babylon.</i>	<i>Media.</i>	<i>Lydia.</i>
		These-bucodonosor II. suc- ven sages ceeds him in all his of Greece dominions.			Medes and Lyd- ians,
3403 601		lived a-	Nabucodonosor's		which
3404 600	Psam- mis six years.	bout this first dream inter- time. Alczus, from whom the Alca- ic verses take their name. Sappho, at the same time.	preted by Daniel.	Asty- ges, the son of Cyaxares, gives his daughter in marri- age to the Camby- ses king of Persia.	was ter- minated by the marriage of Cyaxa- res with Aryenis the daughter of Alyst- tea.
3405 599			Nabucodonosor's	Birth of	
3409 595			lieutenants, after Cyrus.	Death of	
3410 594	Apries Hermakos himself master of Sidon, in the first year of his reign.		having ravaged Ju- dza, blockade Jeru- salem, and put king Jehoiakim to death. his son About the end of the succeeds cents year, Nabuco- him. He donosor repairs in reigns 35 person to Jerusalem, years, makes himself mas- ter of it, and ap- points Zedekiah king instead of Je- hoiakim, whom he carries into captiv- ity.	Cyaxares. Astyages. his son him. He reigns 35 years.	
3411 593	Zede- kiah king of Judah, makes an alliance with the king of Egypt, contrary to the ad- vice of Je- remiah.		Nabucodonosor	Cyrus	
3416 588	Unfor- tunate expedi- tion of A- pries into Lybia. Amasis revolts a- gainst Apries.		destroys Jerusalem, goes for and carries away the first Zedekiah captive to time into Babylon. At his re- Media, to turn into his domin- see his ions, he causes the grand-fa- three young He- ther Aa- brews to be thrown tyages. into the furnace. He re- mains 8 years with him.		

AN. AC.	Egypt.	Greece.	Babylon.	Media.	Lydia.
3432	572	Nabucodonosor subjects Egypt, and confirms Amasis in	Nabucodonosor makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of 13 years. He did not march against Egypt till after this expedition.		
3434	570	the throne,	Nabucodonosor's second dream interpreted by Daniel.		
3435	569	Apries	Nabucodonosor		
3440	564	dies in the 25th year reforms of his reign. Pythagoras lived again one year.—reigns after him in time. peace.	Thespis reduced to the condition of beasts, during seven years; after which he reigns as Evil-Merodach, his son, succeeds him. He reigns only two years.		
3442	562				Croesus.
3444	560	Simonides, the celebrated poet.	Nerighiasor. He makes great preparations for war against the Medes, and calls in Croesus to his aid.	Death of Astyages. Cyaxares succeeds him; and was known in the scripture under the name of Darius the Mede.	Ed in his reign, and was in his court at the same time with Solon.
3445	559	Pisistratus makes himself master of Athens.		Cyrus returns into Media for the second time, in order to assist his uncle in the war with the Babylonians.	
3447	567			Expedition of Cyrus	

A.M. A.C.	Egypt.	Greece.	Babylon.	Media.	Lydia.
				against the king of Arme- nia.	
3448	556		Labrosoarchod. He reigns only nine months.	Cyaxares and Cy- rus defeat the Baby- lonians in a great battle, in which Neriglis- sor is slain.	Croesus flies be- fore Cy- rus.
3449	555		Labynit, called in scripture	About this time	Battle
3456	548		Belshaz- zar.		of Thym- bria be- tween Cyrus and Cy- rus, fol- lowed with the taking of Sardis by the latter.
3460	544	Hip- poxar, au- thor of the verse Scazon. Heracli- tus, chief of the sect which bears his name.			
3464	540	Birth of Æschy- lus.	Labynit is killed at the taking of Ba- bylon. The death of that prince puts an end to the Babylonian empire, which is united with that of the Medes.	Cyrus the king- makes dom of Lydia.	End of
3466	537	Ctesiph- on or Cher- siphron, a celebrat- ed archi- tect, fa- mous es- pecially for build- ing the temple of Diana of Ephesus.		Death of Cyaxares.	
3468	536				
			After the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, Cyrus, who succeeded both in their domin- ions, united the empire of the Medes with		

A.M.A.G. Egypt. Græc.

Empire of the Persians.

shows of the Babylonians and Persians, and of the three formed a fourth, under the name of the empire of the Persians, which subsisted 306 years.

Empire of the Persians.

3468 536

Cyrus. The first year of his reign he permits the Jews to return into Judæa.

3470 534

Daniel's vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia.

3475 529

3478 526

3479 525 Peanone-
nitus. He
reigns
only six
months.
After the
death of

Death of
Pisistra-
tus. Hip-
pias his
son suc-
ceeds
him.

Cyrus dies on a tour which he makes into Persia, after his having reigned seven years alone, and 30 from his setting out from Persia at the head of an army to aid Cytæares.

Cambyses his son succeeds him. The fourth year of his reign he attacks Egypt, and re-unites it to the kingdom of the Persians.

3480 524 that
prince

3481 523 Egypt is
annexed
to the
Persian
domin-
ions, and
continues

Unsuccessful expedition of Camby-
ses against the Ethiopians.

Cambyses puts Meroë, who was both
his sister and wife, to death.

It was about this time that Oretes,
one of the satrapæ of Cambyses, made
himself master of the island of Samos,
and caused Polycrates the tyrant of it
to be put to death.

3482 522 till the
reign of
Alexan-
der the

Death of Cambyses. Smerdis the
Magus, who had mounted the throne
before the death of Cambyses, succeeds
him. He reigns only seven months.

3483 521 Great,

3485 519 which in-
cludes the
space of
206
years.

Darius, son of Hystaspes.

Edict of Darius in favour of the Jews,
wherein that of Cyrus is repealed. It
is believed that what is related in the
history of Esther happened some time
after the publication of this edict.

3488 516

Babylon revolts against Darius, and
is taken after a siege of 20 months.

3490 514

Militia-
des goes
to settle
in the
Cherson-
esus.

Expedition of Darius against the Scy-
thians.

A.M. A.C. *Egypt.* *Greece.* *Empire of the Persians.*

- 3496 508 The Pi- Darius penetrates into India, and re-
sistratidæ duces all that great country into sub-
are oblig-jection.
ed to a-
bandon
Attica.

*The history of the Greeks from henceforth
will be intermixed and almost confounded
with that of the Persians ; for which rea-
son I shall separate their chronology no
further.*

Persians and Grecians.

- 3501 503 The Persians from the siege of the capital of the island of
Naxos, and are obliged to raise it in six months.
- 3502 502 Aristagoras, governor of Miletus, revolts from Darius,
and brings the Ionians and Athenians into his measures.
- 3504 500 The Ionians make themselves masters of Sardis, and
burn it.
- 3507 497 The Persians defeat the Ionians in a sea-fight before the
island of Lados, and make themselves masters of Miletus.
Æschylus.
- 3510 494 Darius sends Gobrias his son-in-law at the head of an
army to attack Greece.
Anacreon.
- 3513 491 Darius takes the command of his armies from Gobrias,
and gives it to Datis and Artaphernes.
- 3514 490 Battle of Marathon.
- 3515 489 Unfortunate end of Miltiades.
- 3519 485 Death of Darius Hystaspes. Xerxes his son succeeds him.
- 3520 484 Birth of the historian Herodotus.
- 3524 480 Xerxes sets out to make war against the Greeks.
Battle of Thermopylæ. Leonidas, king of the Lacedæ-
monians, is killed in it. Sea-fight near Artemisium, at the
same time as the battle of Thermopylæ.
Birth of Euripides.
Battle of Salamin, followed by the precipitate return of
Xerxes into Persia.
- 3525 479 Battle of Platæa. Sea-fight the same day near Mycale,
in which the Persians are defeated.
- 3526 478 The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, which had
been demolished by Xerxes, notwithstanding the opposition
of the Lacedæmonians.
- 3528 476 The command of the armies of Greece, of which the Lacedæ-
monians had been in possession from the battle of Ther-
mopylæ, is transferred to the Athenians.
Pindar flourished about this time.
- 3530 474 Pausanias, general of the Lacedæmonians, accused of
holding secret intelligence with Xerxes, is put to death.

A.M.A.C.

Persians and Grecians.

- 3531 473 Themistocles, the Athenian general, is accused of having had a share in Pausanias's plot, and takes refuge with Admetus, king of the Molossians.
Sophocles and Euripides appear in Greece about this time.
- 3532 472 Xerxes is killed by Artabanes, the captain of his guards. Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, succeeds him. Themistocles takes refuge in his court the first year of his reign.
- 3533 471 Cimon receives the command of the armies at Athens. The year following he defeats the Persians, and takes their fleet near the mouth of the river Eurymedon.
Birth of the historian Thucydides.
- 3534 470 Great earthquake at Sparta, in the reign of Archidamus, which makes way for a sedition of the helots.
Birth of Socrates.
- 3535 469 Beginning of Pericles.
Phidias, famous for his skill in architecture and sculpture.
Difference and misunderstanding between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, occasioned by the affront offered to the Athenians by the Lacedæmonians, in sending back their troops, after having called in their aid against the Messenians and helots. Some time after, and in consequence of this quarrel, Cimon is banished by the ostracism.
- 3537 467 Esdras obtains a commission from Artaxerxes to return to Jerusalem, with all that are willing to follow him.
- 3538 466 Themistocles puts an end to his life at Magnesia.
- 3540 464 Herodicus of Sicily, chief of the sect of physicians called *Διαίτητικῶν*. Hippocrates was his disciple.
- 3544 460 The Egyptians, supported by the Athenians, revolt against Artaxerxes.
- 3545 459 Defeat of the Persian army in Egypt.
- 3548 456 The Egyptians and Athenians are beaten in their turn; in consequence of which all Egypt returns to its obedience to Artaxerxes, and the Athenians retire to Danarus, where they sustain a siege of a year.
Battle of Tanagra in Bœotia, where the Athenians beat the Spartans who were come to the aid of the Bœotians.
- 3550 454 Nehemiah obtains Artaxerxes's permission to return to Jerusalem.
- 3554 450 Birth of Xenophon.
Cimon, recalled from banishment after five years absence, reconciles the Athenians and Spartans, and makes them conclude a truce of five years.
- 3555 449 End of the war between the Greeks and Persians, which had continued from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, 51 years. Death of Cimon.
- 3558 446 The Lacedæmonians conclude a truce for 30 years with the Athenians. The latter soon break it by new enterprises.
Empedocles, the Pythagorean philosopher.

A.M.A.C.

Persian and Grecians.

- 3558 446 Myron, the famous sculptor of Athens.
- 3564 440 Pericles makes war with the Samians, and takes the capital of their island after a siege of nine months.
Zeuxis, the famous painter, disciple of Apollodorus.
Parrhasius his rival lived at the same time.
Aristophanes, the comic poet.
- 3568 436 Birth of Isocrates.
War between the Corinthians and the people of Corcyra. The Athenians engage in it in favour of the Corcyreans. The inhabitants of Potidea declare on the side of Corinth against Athens. Alcibiades begins to appear in this war, which occasions that of Peloponnesus.
Scopas, architect and sculptor.
- 3573 431 Beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It subsists 27 years.
- 3574 430 A terrible plague rages in Attica. The physician Hippocrates distinguishes himself by his extraordinary care of the sick.
- 3575 429 Death of Pericles.
- 3576 428 The Lacedæmonians besiege Platæa.
Plato, founder of the ancient academy.
- 3579 425 Death of Artaxerxes. Xerxes his son succeeds him. He reigns only 45 days.
Sogdianus puts Xerxes to death and causes himself to be acknowledged king in his stead. He reigns only six months.
- 3580 424 Ochus, known under the name of Darius Nothus, kills himself of Sogdianus, and succeeds him.
The Athenians, under Nicias, make themselves masters of Cythera.
Thucydides is banished by the Athenians, whose army he commanded, for having suffered Amphipolis to be taken.
Polygnotus, famed particularly for his painting in the portico called *Ποικίλη* at Athens, in which he represented the principal events of the Trojan war.
- 3583 421 Treaty of peace concluded, by the application of Nicias, between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, in the tenth year from the beginning of the Lacedæmonian war. Alcibiades, by an imposture, occasions its being broken the following year.
- 3584 420 The banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the ostracism.
- 3588 416 Alcibiades engages the Athenians to assist the people of Egusta against the Syracusans.
- 3589 415 Alcibiades, one of the generals sent to Sicily by the Athenians, is recalled to Athens to answer accusations against him. He flies to Sparta, and is condemned for contumacy.
- 3590 414 Pisuthnes, governor of Syria, revolts against Darius. The Egyptians do the same, and choose Amyrtæus for their king, who reigns six years.

A.M. A.C.

Persians and Grecians.

3593 411 Alcibiades, to avoid the envy his great actions had drawn upon him at Sparta, throws himself into the arms of Tissaphernes, one of the king of Persia's satraps. The Lacedæmonians by the help of Tissaphernes, conclude a treaty of alliance with the king of Persia.

3595 409 Alcibiades is recalled to Athens. His return occasions the abolition of the Four Hundred, who had been invested with supreme authority.

3595 409 Darius gives Cyrus, his youngest son, the government in chief of all the provinces of Asia Minor.

3598 406 Lysander is placed at the head of the Lacedæmonians. He defeats the Athenians near Ephesus. In consequence of that defeat, Alcibiades is deposed and ten generals are nominated to succeed him.

3599 405 Callicratidas has the command of the army in the room of Lysander, from whom the Lacedæmonians had taken it. He is killed in a sea-fight near the Arginusæ.

Lysander is restored to the command of the Lacedæmonian army. He gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos.

Conon, who commanded the Athenian forces, retires after his defeat to Evagoras, king of Cyprus.

3600 404 Lysander makes himself master of Athens, changes the form of the government, and establishes thirty archons, commonly called the Thirty Tyrants.

End of the Peloponnesian war.

Death of Darius Nothus. Arsaces his son succeeds him, and takes the name of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Cyrus the younger intends to assassinate his brother Artaxerxes. His design being discovered, he is sent to the maritime provinces, of which he was governor.

3601 403 Interview of Cyrus the younger and Lysander at Sardis. Thrasybulus expels the tyrants of Athens, and re-establishes its liberty.

3602 402 Cyrus the younger prepares for a war with his brother Artaxerxes.

3603 401 Defeat and Death of Cyrus the younger at Cunaxa, followed by the retreat of the ten thousand.

Death of Socrates.

3604 400 Lacedæmon declares war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

3606 398 Beginning of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, father of Philip.

3607 397 Agesilaus is elected king of Sparta. The year following he goes to Attica, to the aid of the Greeks settled there.

3609 395 Lysander quarrels with Agesilaus, and undertakes to change the order of the succession to the throne.

The army of Tissaphernes is defeated near Sardis by Agesilaus.

- 3610 394 Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, enter into a league against Lacedæmon, at the solicitation of the Persians. Athens enters into the same league soon after. Agesilaus is recalled by the ephori to the assistance of his country.

The fleet of the Lacedæmonians is defeated near Cnidos by Pharnabazus, and Conon the Athenian, who commanded that of the Persians and Greeks. Agesilaus defeats the Thebans almost at the same time, in the plains of Coroneæ. Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.

- 3617 387 Peace, shameful to the Greeks, concluded with the Persians by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian.

- 3618 386 Artaxerxes attacks Evagoras, king of Cyprus, with all his forces, and gains a signal victory over him.

It is followed by the siege of Salamis, which is terminated by a treaty of peace.

- 3620 384 Expedition of Artaxerxes against the Cadusians. Birth of Aristotle, founder of the Peripatetics.

- 3621 383 The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus.

Birth of Philip, king of Macedon.

- 3622 382 Phæbidas, on his way to the siege of Olynthus, at the head of part of the army of the Lacedæmonians, makes himself master of the citadel of Thebes.

Birth of Demosthenes.

- 3626 378 Pelopidas, at the head of the rest of the exiles, kills the tyrants of Thebes, and retakes the citadel.

- 3627 377 Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes to reduce Egypt, which had thrown off his yoke for some years. He employs above two years in making preparations for that war.

- 3629 375 Death of Amyntas, king of Macedonia. Alexander his eldest son succeeds him. He reigns only two years. Perdicas ascends the throne next, and reigns 14 years.

- 3630 374 Death of Evagoras, king of Cyprus. Nicocles his son succeeds him.

- 3634 370 Battle of Leuctra, in which the Thebans, under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, defeat the Lacedæmonians.

- 3636 369 Expedition of Pelopidas against Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ. He goes to Macedonia, to terminate the differences between Perdicas and Ptolemy, sons of Amyntas, concerning the crown. He carries Philip with him to Thebes as an hostage. He is killed in a battle which he fights with the tyrant of Pheræ.

- 3641 363 Battle of Mantinea. Epaminondas is killed in it, after having secured the victory to the Thebans.

- 3642 362 The Lacedæmonians send Agesilaus to aid Tachos king of Egypt against Artaxerxes. He dethrones Tachos, and

AMAC:

Persians and Grecians.

gives the throne to Nectanebus. He dies on his return from that expedition.

Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Ochus his son succeeds him.

3644 360 Philip ascends the throne of Macedonia. He makes a captious peace with the Athenians.

The history of the Cappadocians begins at this time, the chronology of whose kings I shall give after that of Alexander's successors. I shall annex it to that of the Parthians, and of the kings of Pontus.

3646 358 War of the allies with the Athenians. It continued 3 years.

Philip besieges and takes Amphipolis.

3648 356 Revolt of Artabæus against Ochus king of Persia.

Birth of Alexander the Great.

3649 355 Demosthenes appears in public for the first time, and encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations for war making by the king of Persia.

3649 355 Beginning of the sacred war.

3650 354 Death of Mausolus, king of Caria.

3651 353 Philip makes himself master of the city of Methone.

3652 352 Artemisia, widow of Mausolus, to whom she had succeeded, takes Rhedæ.

Philip attempts to seize Thermopyla in vain.

3653 351 Successful expedition of Ochus against Phœnicia, Cyprus, and afterwards Egypt.

3654 350 Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, is obliged to fly into Ethiopia; from whence he never returns.

3656 348 Death of Plato.

Philip makes himself master of Olynthus.

3658 346 Philip seizes Thermopylae, and part of Rhœcia. He causes himself to be admitted into the number of the amphictyons.

3662 342 Oration of Demosthenes concerning the Chersonesus, in favour of Diopithus.

3663 339 The Athenians send aid under Phocion to the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium, besieged by Philip. That prince is obliged to raise the siege.

3666 338 Philip is declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the amphictyons. He makes himself master of Elatæa.

Battle of Chæronea, wherein Philip defeats the Athenians and the Thebans, who had entered into a league against him.

Ochus, king of Persia, is poisoned by Bagoas, his favourite. Arses his son succeeds him, and reigns only 3 years.

A. M. A. C.

Persians and Grecians.

- 3667 337 Philip causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians. The same year he repudiates his wife Olympias. His son Alexander attends her into Epirus, from whence he goes to Illyria.
- 3668 336 Philip's death. Alexander his son, then 20 years of age, succeeds him.
Arses, king of Persia, is assassinated by Bagoas. Darius Codomanus succeeds him.
- 3669 335 Thebes taken and destroyed by Alexander. He causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians in a diet assembled at Corinth.
- 3670 334 Alexander sets out for Persia.
Battle of the Granicus, followed with the conquest of almost all Asia Minor.
- 3671 333 Alexander is taken at Tarsus with a dangerous illness, from having bathed in the river Cydnus. He is cured in a few days.
Battle of Issus.
- 3672 332 Alexander makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of seven months.
Apelles, one of the most famous painters of antiquity. Aristides and Protogenes were his contemporaries.
Alexander goes to Jerusalem. He makes himself master of Gaza, and soon after of all Egypt. He went after this conquest to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, and at his return built the city of Alexandria.
- 3673 331 Battle of Arbela. It is followed with the taking of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis.
- 3674 330 Darius is seized and laden with chains by Bessus, and soon after assassinated. His death puts an end to the Persian empire, which had subsisted 206 years from its foundation under Cyrus the Great.
The Lacedæmonians revolt against the Macedonians. Antipater defeats them in a battle, wherein Agis their king is killed.
Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to see Alexander at Zadracrata.
Philotas, and Parmenio his father, suspected of having conspired with others against Alexander, are put to death.
- 3675 329 Bessus is brought to Alexander, and soon after put to death.
Alexander, after having subdued the Sogdians and Bactrians, builds a city upon the Jaxartes, to which he gives his name.
Embassy of the Scythians to Alexander, followed by a victory gained by him over that people.
Lysippus of Sicyon, a famous sculptor, flourished about this time.
- 3676 328 Alexander makes himself master of the rocky eminence of Orus.

A.M.A.C.

Persians and Grecians.

Clitus is killed by Alexander at a feast in Maracanda.
The death of Callisthenes happens soon after.

Alexander marries Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes.

3677 327 Alexander's entrance into India. He gains a great victory over Porus in passing the Hydaspes.

3678 326 On the remonstrances of his army, Alexander determines to march back.

The city of Oxadryca taken. Alexander is in great danger there.

3679 325 Alexander's marriage with Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius.

Revolt of Harpalus, whom Alexander had made governor of Babylon.

Demosthenes is banished for having received presents, and suffered himself to be corrupted by Harpalus.

3680 324 Death of Hephæstion at Ecbatana.

Menander, the inventor of the new comedy, lived about this time.

3681 323 Alexander, on his return to Babylon, dies there, at the age of 32 years and 8 months. Aridæus, that prince's natural brother, is declared king in his stead. The regency of the kingdom is given to Perdiccas.

The generals divide the provinces amongst themselves. From this division commences the era of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt.

The Athenians revolt, and engage the states of Greece to enter into a league with him. Demosthenes is recalled from banishment.

3682 322 Antipater is besieged in Lamia by the Athenians, and is forced to surrender it by capitulation. He soon after seizes Athens.

Death of Demosthenes.

3683 321 Alexander's magnificent funeral.

Perdiccas puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia.

League of Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, against Perdiccas and Eumenes.

Death of Craterus.

Unfortunate end of Perdiccas in Egypt. Antipater succeeds him in the regency of the empire.

3684 320 Eumenes defeated by Antigonus; shuts himself up in the castle of Nora, where he sustains a siege of a year.

Ptolemy makes himself master of Jerusalem.

3685 319 Death of Antipater. Polysperchon succeeds him.

Phocion's condemnation and death at Athens.

Cassander, the son of Antipater, seizes Athens, and settles Demetrius Phalereus there to govern the republic.

3687 317 Olympias, the mother of Alexander, causes Aridæus and Eurydice his wife to be put to death, as she herself is soon after by order of Cassander.

A.M. A.C.

Persians and Gracians.

3689 315 Eumenes is delivered up to Antigonus by his own soldiers, and put to death.

3691 313 Antigonus takes Tyre, after a siege of 15 months. Demetrius his son, surnamed Poliorcetes, begins to appear.

3692 312 Zeno institutes the sect of the Stoics at Athens.

3693 311 Seleucus makes himself master of Babylon and the neighbouring provinces.

At this expedition of Seleucus against Babylon, begins the famous era of the Seleucides, called by the Jews the era of contracts.

Ptolemy retires into Egypt, and carries a great number of the inhabitants of Phœnicia and Judæa thither along with him.

Cassander causes Roxana and her son Alexander to be put to death.

3695 309 Polysperchon puts Hercules, the son of Alexander, and his mother Berenice, to death.

3696 308 Ophellias, governor of Libya, revolts against Ptolemy.

3698 306 Demetrius Poliorcetes makes himself master of Athens, and re-establishes the democratical government. The same year he makes himself master of Salamin, and the whole island of Cyprus.

Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded at Athens, retires to Thebes. The Athenians throw down his statues, and condemn him to death.

Antigonus and his son Demetrius assume the title of king. The other princes follow their example, and do the same.

3699 305 Antigonus, to make the most of his son's victory in Cyprus, undertakes to deprive Ptolemy of Egypt. That expedition does not succeed.

Ptolemy the astronomer fixes the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy king of Egypt, on the 7th of November of this year.

3700 304 Demetrius Poliorcetes forms the siege of Rhodes, which he is forced to raise a year after.

3701 303 The Rhodians employ the money raised by the sale of the machine which Demetrius had used in the siege of their city, and had given them as a present, in erecting the famous colossus, called the colossus of Rhodes.

Demetrius Poliorcetes is declared general of all the Greeks by the states of Greece assembled at the Isthmus.

3702 302 Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, enter into a league against Antigonus, and Demetrius his son.

Battle of Ipsus, wherein Antigonus is defeated. It is followed by the division of the empire of Alexander amongst the four allied princes.

Argesilaus, founder of the middle academy.

There is so much connection between the events which happen in the four empires formed out of Alexander's, that it is impossible

to separate them ; for which reason I shall dispose them all in one column, according to the plan I have followed in treating them in the body of my history. I shall first give a table that contains only the kings that reigned in each of those kingdoms.

<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Syria.</i>	<i>Macedonia. Thrace & Bythin.</i>
3704 300 Ptolemy So-	Seleucus Ni-	Cassander. Lysimachus
3707 297 ter.	cator.	Philip and Alexander, the sons of Cassander, dispute the kingdom, and possess it almost three years.
3710 294		Demetrius Poliorcetes.
3717 287		Pyrrhus and Lysimachus.
3719 285 Ptolemy Phi-		Seleucus Ni- Lysimachus
3723 281 ladelphus.		cator a very is killed in a short time. After his death his dominions are dismembered, and cease to form a distinct kingdom.
<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Syria.</i>	<i>Macedonia.</i>
3724 280	Antiochus Soter.	Ptolemy Ceraunus. His brother Meleager reigned some time after him.
3726 278		Sosthenes.
3728 276		Antigonus Gona-
3743 261	Antiochus Theos. tus.	
3758 246 Ptolemy Ever-	Seleucus Callinicus.	
getes.		Demetrius, son of Antigonus Gonatus.
3762 242		Antigonus Dosis.
3772 232	Seleucus Ceraunus.	
3778 226	Antiochus the	
3781 223	Great.	
3788 221 Ptolemy Philopa-		Philip.
3784 220 ter.		
3800 204 Ptolemy Epiph-		
3817 187 anea.	Seleucus Philopater.	

A. M. A. C.

Egypt.

Syria.

Macedonia.

3824 180 Ptolemy Philom-

3825 179 etc.

Pereus, the last king of
the Macedonians.

Egypt.

Syria.

3829 178

3840 164

3842 162

3854 150

3895 145 Ptolemy Phycus.

3860 144

Antiochus Epiphanes.

Antiochus Eupator.

Demetrius Soter.

Alexander Bala.

Demetrius Nicator.

Antiochus Theos, the son
of Bala, seizes part of Syria.
Tryphon does the same soon
after.

3864 140

Antiochus Sidetes puts
Tryphon to death, and reigns
in his room.

3877 127

Zebina succeeds Demetri-
us Nicator.

3880 125

Seleucus the son of Nicator.

3887 117 Ptolemy Lathyrus.

3890 114

Antiochus the Cyzicenean
divides the kingdom with
Grypus.3897 107 Alexander I. brother of La-
thyrus.

3907 97

3911 93

3912 92

Seleucus, son of Grypus.

Antiochus Eusebes.

Antiochus, second son of
Grypus.

3913 91

3914 90

Philip, third son of Grypus.

Demetrius Eucharis, fourth
son of Grypus.

3919 85

Antiochus Dionysius, fifth
son of Grypus.The four last named kings
reigned successively with Eu-
sebes.

3941 83

3929 81 Alexander II. son of Alex-
ander I.

Tigranes, during 14 years

3935 69

3939 65 Ptolemy Auletes.

Antiochus Asiaticus

3946 58 Berenice, the eldest daugh-
ter of Auletes, reigns some
time in his stead; after which
that prince is restored:

A.M. A.C.

Egypt.

Syria.

- 3953 51 Cleopatra reigns at first with her eldest brother, then with Ptolemy her youngest brother, and at last alone.

Alexander's Successors.

- 3604 300 Seleucus, king of Syria, builds Antioch.
Athena refuses to receive Demetrius Poliorcetes.
- 3707 297 Death of Cassander, king of Macedon. Philip his son succeeds him. He reigns only one year, and is succeeded by Alexander his brother. About this time Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, espouses Antigone, of the house of Ptolemy, and returns into his dominions, out of which he had been driven by the Molossi.
- 3709 295 Demetrius Poliorcetes retakes Athens. Lysimachus and Ptolemy, almost at the same time, deprive him of all he possessed.
- 3710 294 Demetrius puts to death Alexander king of Macedonia, who called him in to his aid, and seizes his dominions, where he reigns seven years.
- 3711 293 Foundation of the city of Seleucia by Seleucus.
- 3717 287 Pyrrhus and Lysimachus take Macedonia from Demetrius. The latter dies miserably the year following in prison.
- 3719 285 Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, resigns the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus.
Foundation of the kingdom of Pergamus by Philisternus.
- 3721 283 Demetrius Phalereus is shut up in a fort by order of Philadelphus, and kills himself there.
- 3722 282 Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria, declares war against Lysimachus, king of Macedonia.
- 3723 281 Lysimachus is killed in a battle in Phrygia. Seleucus enters Macedonia to take possession of the kingdom. He is assassinated there by Ceraunus. Antiochus Soter, his son, succeeds him in the kingdom of Syria.
- 3724 280 Ceraunus, to secure the kingdom of Macedonia to himself, puts the two children of Lysimachus by Arsinoe to death, and banishes her into Samothracia.
The republic of the Achæans resumes its ancient form, which it had lost under Philip and Alexander.
Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, called in by the Tarentines, goes to Italy to make war against the Romans. He gives them battle for the first time near Heraclea, where the advantage is entirely on his side. He is again successful in a second battle fought the year following.
- 3725 279 Irruption of the Gauls into Macedonia. Ceraunus gives them battle, in which he is killed. Meleager his brother succeeds him.

A.M.A.C.

Alexander's Successors.

- 3726 278 Pyrrhus abandons Italy, and goes to Sicily, which he conquers.
 Sosthenes drives the Gauls out of Macedonia. He is made king there, and reigns two years.
 Attempt of the Gauls upon the temple of Delphos.
- 3727 277 Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, causes the holy scriptures to be translated into Greek.
- 3728 276 Death of Sosthenes. Antigonus Gonatus, son of Poliorcetes, who reigned afterwards during ten years in Greece, makes himself king of Macedonia in his room. Antiochus, king of Syria, disputes the possession of it with him. Their difference terminates by the marriage of Antigonus with Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus.
- 3729 275 Antiochus defeats the Gauls in a bloody battle, and delivers the country from their oppressions. By this victory he acquires the name of Soter.
- 3730 274 Pyrrhus returns into Italy, and is defeated by the Romans. He goes to Macedonia, where he attacks and defeats Antigonus.
 Ptolemy Philadelphus, in effect of the reputation of the Romans, sends an embassy to them to demand their amity.
- 3732 272 Pyrrhus undertakes the siege of Sparta, and cannot reduce it. He is killed the next year at the siege of Argos.
- 3736 268 Antigonus Gonatus makes himself master of Athens, which had entered into a league with the Lacedæmonians against him.
- 3739 265 Abantidas makes himself tyrant of Sicyone, after having put Clinias its governor to death
 Magus, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus.
- 3741 263 Death of Philiterrus, king and founder of Pergamus. Eumenes his nephew succeeds him.
- 3743 261 Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, causes his son Antiochus to be proclaimed king. He dies soon after.
 Berosus of Babylon, the historian, lived about this time.
- 3746 258 Accommodation between Magus and Ptolemy Philadelphus.
- 3749 255 War between Antiochus, king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philadelphus.
- 3752 252 Aratus, the son of Clinias, delivers Sicyone from tyranny, and unites it with the Achæan league.
- 3754 250 Arsaces revolts against Agathocles, governor for Antiochus in the country of the Parthians. About the same time Theodorus, governor of Bactriana, revolts, and causes himself to be declared king of that province.
- 3755 249 Treaty of peace between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, which puts an end to the war. By one of the conditions of that treaty, Antiochus repudiates Laodice, and marries Berenice, Ptolemy's daughter.

A.M.A.C.

Persians and Grecians.

- 3756 248 Agis, king of Sparta, endeavours to revive the ancient institutions of Euryergus. Leonidas his colleague is deposed for refusing to consent to it. Cleombrotus, his son-in-law, reigns in his stead.
- 3757 247 Death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Evergetes, his son, succeeds him.
Apollonius of Rhodes, author of a poem upon the expedition of the Argonauts.
- 3758 246 Antiochus, surnamed Theos, king of Syria, is poisoned by his wife Laodice. She afterwards causes her son Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king.
Berenice, and her son by Antiochus, are assassinated by Laodice.
Ptolemy Evergetes, Berenice's brother, undertakes to revenge her death. He makes himself master of great part of Syria.
- 3760 244 The cities of Smyrna and Magnesia enter into an alliance to aid the king of Syria against Ptolemy Evergetes.
Aratus makes himself master of the citadel of Corinth.
Leonidas is restored at Sparta, Cleombrotus sent into banishment, and Agis put to death.
- 3762 242 Death of Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedonia. Demetrius his son succeeds him.
Seleucus, king of Syria, enters into a war with Antiochus Hierax his brother. The latter has the advantage in a battle near Ancyra in Galatia.
- 3763 241 Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus, his cousin-german, succeeds him.
- 3765 239 Eratosthenes, the Syrenian, is made librarian to Ptolemy Evergetes.
- 3771 233 Joseph, nephew of the high-priest Onias, is sent ambassador to Ptolemy Evergetes.
- 3772 232 Death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Antigonus, guardian of Philip, son of Demetrius, succeeds him.
Polycletus of Sicyone, a famous sculptor.
- 3774 230 Seleucus, king of Syria, is defeated, and taken prisoner by Arsaces, king of the Parthians.
- 3776 228 Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains a great victory over the Achæans and Aratus.
- 3778 226 Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, dies amongst the Parthians of a fall from an horse. Seleucus Ceraunus, his eldest son, succeeds him.
Antiochus Hierax is assassinated by thieves on leaving Egypt.
Aratus defeats Aristippus, tyrant of Argos. He prevails upon Lysidates, tyrant of Megalopolis, to renounce the tyranny, and make his city enter into the Achæan league.
- 3779 225 The Romans send a famous embassy into Greece, to impart to the Greeks the treaty they had lately concluded.

with the Illyrians. The Corinthians declare by a public decree that they shall be admitted to share in the celebration of the Isthmian games. The Athenians also grant them the freedom of Athens.

Antigonus, king of Macedonia, by the management of Aratus, is called in to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians.

3781 223 Cleomenes, king of Sparta, takes Megalopolis.

Battle of Selasia, followed with the taking of Sparta by Antigonus.

3781 223 Death of Seleucus Ceraunus, king of Syria, Antiochus his brother, surnamed the Great, succeeds him.

3782 222 The colossus of Rhodes is thrown down by a great earthquake.

3783 221 Death of Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philopater succeeds him.

The Ætolians gain a great victory at Caphyz over the Achæans.

3784 220 Antiochus reduces Molon and Alexander, who had revolted against him two years before, the first in Media, the second in Persia.

Death of Antigonus, king of Macedonia. Philip, the son of Demetrius succeeds him.

Cleomenes, king of Sparta, dies in Egypt. The Lacedæmonians elect Agesipolis and Lycurgus to succeed him.

War of the allies with the Ætolians in favour of the Achæans.

3785 219 Hermias, prime minister of Antiochus, is put to death by that prince's orders.

3787 217 Battle of Raphia, between Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Antiochus king of Syria.

Treaty of peace between Philip king of Macedonia, and the Achæans on one side, and the Ætolians on the other, which puts an end to the war of the allies.

3788 216 Antiochus besieges Achæus, who had revolted in Sardis, and after a siege of two years he is delivered up by the treachery of a Æretan.

Hannibal's alliance with Philip king of Macedonia.

3789 215 Philip receives a considerable blow from the Romans at the siege of Apollonia.

3790 214 Carneades, founder of the new academy.

3792 212 Antiochus undertakes to reduce the provinces which had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire, and effects it in the space of seven years.

3793 211 Alliance of the Ætolians with the Romans. Attalus, king of Pergamus, enters into it. The Lacedæmonians come into it some time after.

3796 208 Famous battle between Philip king of Macedonia and

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Alexander's Successors.

- the Ætolians near Elis. Philopœmen distinguishes himself in it.
- 3798 206 Battle of Mantinæa, wherein Philopœmen defeats Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, who perishes in it. Nabis is set in his place.
- 3800 204 Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans. All the allies on both sides are included in it.
Polybius is said to have been born this year.
Death of Ptolemy Philopater, king of Egypt.
Ptolemy Epiphanes, at that time only five years old, succeeds him.
- 3801 203 League between Philip of Macedon, and Antiochus king of Syria, against the young king of Egypt.
- 3802 202 Philip, king of Macedonia, is defeated by the Rhodians in a sea-fight off the island of Chio. That prince's cruel treatment of the Cyaneans seems to be properly dated the following year.
- 3803 201 Philip besieges and takes Abydos.
- 3804 200 The Romans declare war with Philip. P. Sulpitius is appointed to command in it. He gains a considerable victory near the town of Octolopia in Macedonia.
- 3805 199 Villicus succeeds Sulpitius in the command of the army against Philip. The year following Flamininus is sent to succeed Villicus.
- 3806 198 Antiochus, king of Syria, subjects Palestine and Cœlosyria. The Achæans declare for the Romans against Philip.
- 3807 197 Interview of Philip and the consul Flamininus.
Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, declares for the Romans. The Bœotians do the same.
Death of Attalus, king of Pergamus. Eumenes succeeds him.
Battle of Cynoscephale, where the Romans gain a complete victory over Philip.
- 3808 196 Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, which puts an end to the war.
Embassy of the Romans to Antiochus the Great, in order to be assured whether the complaints against him were justly founded.
Conspiracy of Scopas, the Ætolian, against Ptolemy Epiphanes, discovered and punished.
- 3809 195 Flamininus makes war against Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta.
- 3813 191 Philopœmen gains a considerable advantage over Nabis, near Sparta.
The Ætolians resolve to seize Demetrias, Chalcis, and Sparta, by treachery and stratagem.
Nabis is killed. Philopœmen makes the Lacedæmonians enter into the Achæan league.

- Antiochus goes to Greece to the aid of the Ætolians. The Romans declare war against him, and soon after defeat him near the straits of Thermopylæ.
- 3814 190 Battle of Magnesia, followed by a treaty of peace, which puts an end to the war between the Romans and Antiochus, which had subsisted about two years.
- The philosopher Penætius was born about this time.
- 3815 189 The consul Fulvius forces the Ætolians to submit to the Romans. Manlius, his colleague, almost at the same time subjects all the Gauls in Asia.
- The cruel treatment of the Spartans by their exiles, supported by Philopæmen, happened this year.
- 3817 187 Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, is killed in the temple of Jupiter Belus, which he had entered in order to plunder it. Seleucus Philopater succeeds him.
- 3821 183 Philopæmen is taken before Messene by Dinocrates, and put to death.
- 3823 181 Demetrius, son of Philip king of Macedonia, is unjustly accused by his brother Perseus, and put to death.
- 3824 180 Death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philometer succeeds him.
- 3825 179 Death of Philip, king of Macedonia. Perseus his son succeeds him.
- 3829 175 Seleucus Philopater, king of Syria, is poisoned by Heliodorus, whom he had sent a little before to take Jerusalem. He is succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes.
- 3830 174 Antiochus Epiphanes causes Onias the high-priest of Jerusalem to be deposed, and sets Jason in his place.
- 3833 171 War between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philometer.
- The Romans declare war against Perseus. That prince has some advantage in the first battle near the river Peneus.
- 3834 170 Antiochus Epiphanes makes himself master of all Egypt. He marches afterwards to Jerusalem, where he commits unheard-of cruelties.
- 3835 169 The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometer, who had fallen into the hands of Antiochus, make Ptolemy Evergetes, his younger brother, king.
- Philometer is set at liberty the same year, and unites with his brother. That union induces Antiochus to renew the war.
- 3836 168 Paulus Æmilius is charged with the Macedonian war, against Perseus. He gains a famous victory over that prince near Pydna, which puts an end to the kingdom of Macedonia. It was not reduced, however, into a province of the Roman empire till 20 years after.
- The prætor Anicius subjects Illyria in 30 days.
- Popilius, one of the ambassadors sent by the Romans into Egypt, obliges Antiochus to quit it, and come to an accommodation with the two brothers.

Antiochus, exasperated at what had happened in Egypt, turns his rage against the Jews, and sends Apollonius to Jerusalem.

The same year he publishes a decree to oblige all nations in subjection to him, to renounce their own religion, and conform to his. This law occasions a cruel persecution among the Jews.

3337. 167 Antiochus goes in person to Jerusalem, to see his orders put in execution. The martyrdom of the Maccabees, and the death of Eleazer, happened at that time.

Paulus Æmilius abandons the cities of Epirus to be plundered by his army, for having taken Perseus's part. The Achæans, suspected of having favoured that prince, are sent to Rome to give an account of their conduct. The senate banish them into different towns of Italy, from whence they are not suffered to return home till 17 years after. Polybius was of this number.

3338. 166 Prusias, king of Bithynia, goes to Rome. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, is not permitted to enter it.

Death of Mattathias. Judas his son succeeds him, and gains many victories over the generals of Antiochus.

3340. 164 Antiochus Epiphanes is repulsed before Elymais, where he intended to plunder the temple. He marches towards Judæa, with design to exterminate the Jews. The hand of God strikes him on the way, and he dies with the most exquisite torments. Antiochus Eupater, his son, succeeds him.

3341. 163 Antiochus Eupater marches against Jerusalem. He is soon after obliged to return into Syria, in order to expel Philip of Antioch, who had made himself master of his capital.

3342. 162 Difference between Philometer, king of Egypt, and Physcon his brother, which does not terminate till after the expiration of five years.

Octavius, ambassador for the Romans in Syria, is assassinated.

Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus Philopater, flies from Rome, where he had been kept as an hostage, to Syria, where he causes Antiochus Eupater to be put to death, and seizes the throne.

3343. 161 Death of Judas Maccabeus.

3344. 160 Demetrius is acknowledged king of Syria by the Romans.

3345. 159 Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus Philometer succeeds him.

3348. 156 War between Attalus and Prusias.

3351. 153 Alexander Bala pretends himself the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and in that quality attempts to cause himself to be acknowledged king of Syria.

A.M. A.C.

Alexander's Successors

- 3852 152 Andriacus of Adramyttium pretends himself the son of Perseus, and undertakes to cause himself to be declared king of Macedonia. He is conquered, taken, and sent to Rome by Metellus.
- 3854 150 Demetrius Soter is killed in a battle between him and Alexander Bala. His death leaves the latter in possession of the empire of Syria.
- 3856 148 Macedonia is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.
- 3857 147 Troubles in Achaia promoted by Dixus and Critolaus. The commissioners sent thither by the Romans are insulted.
- 3858 146 Metellus goes into Achaia, where he gains several advantages over the Achæans. Mummius succeeds him; and, after a great battle near Leucopetra, takes Corinth, and entirely demolishes it.
- Greece is reduced into a Roman province under the name of the province of Achaia.

The sequel of the history of the kings of Syria is much embroiled; for which reason I shall separate it from that of the Egyptians, in order to complete its chronology.

Syria.

Egypt.

- 3859 145 Demetrius Ni- Death of Ptolemy
3860 144 cator, son of De- Antiochus, sur- Philometer. Ptole-
metrius Soter, de- named Theos, son of my Physcon his
feats Alexander Bala, supported by brother succeeds
Bala, and ascends Tryphon, makes him.
the throne. himself master of
part of the kingdom.
Tryphon gets Jon-
athan into his hands,
and puts him to
death at Ptolémaïs.
- 3863 141 Demetrius marches against The year following
the Parthians.— he murders his pupil
After some small Antiochus, and seiz-
advantages he is es the kingdom of
taken prisoner. Syria.
- 3864 140 Antiochus Sidetes,
3866 138 the second son of Death of Attalus
Demetrius Soter, king of Pergamus
marries Cleopatra Attalus, his nephew;
the wife of his bro- surnamed Philome-
ther Demetrius Ni- ter, succeeds him.
cator; and after He reigns five years.
having put Tryphon The cruelties of
to death, he is de- Physcon at Alexan-
clared king himself. dria oblige most of

A.M. A.C.

Syria.

Egypt.

3869 135

Antiochus Side-the inhabitants ta-
tes besieges Johan- quit the place.nes Hyrcanus in Je-
rusalem, and takes
the city by capitu-
lation.

3871 135

3873 131

(Attalus Philome-
ter, king of Perga-
es against the Par- mus, at his death
thians, and gains leaves his dominions
many advantages o- to the Roman peo-
ver them. They send ple. Andronicus:
back Demetrius the seizes them.)
year following.3874 130 Demetrius Ni-
cator reigns again
in Syria.(The consul Per-
penna defeats An-
dronicus, and sends
him to Rome. The
kingdom of Perga-
mus is reduced the
year following into a
Roman province by
Manius Aquilius.)Physcon repudi-
ates Cleopatra, his
first wife, and mar-
ries her daughter of
the same name. He
is soon after obliged
to fly, and the Alex-
andrians give the
government to Cle-
opatra, whom he
had repudiated.Physcon reascends
the throne of Egypt.3877 127 Demetrius is
killed by Alexan-
der Zebina, who
takes his place &
causes himself to
be acknowledged
king of Syria.

3880 124 Seleucus V. el-

3882 122 dest son of Deme- Zebina is defeated. Physcon gives his
trius Nicator, is by Grypus, and dies daughter in mar-
declared king, soon after. riage to Grypus,
and soon after king of Syria.
killed by Cleopa-
tra. Antiochus
Grypus succeeds
him.

A.M.A.C.

Syria:

Egypt:

3884 120 Cleopatra at-

3887 117 tempts to poison

3890 114 Grypus, and is
poisoned herself.

3897 115:

3897 107.

3900 104

3901 103

3903 101

3907 97 Death of Grypus.

3910 94 Seleucus his son Antiochus the Cy-
succeeds him. zicenian is defeated,

3911 93 Seleucus is de- and put to death.

feated by Euse-
bes, and burned Antiochus Euse-
in Mopsuestia. bes, the son of the3912 92 Antiochus, bro- Cyzicenian, causes
ther of Seleucus, himself to be declar-
and second son of king. He mar-
Grypus, assumes Selenas the wife

the diadem. He drowns Grypus.

is presently after
defeated by Euse-
bes, and drowned
in the Orontes.3913 91 Philip his bro-
ther; third son of

Death of Physcon.

Ptolemy Lathyrus

succeeds him. Cle-

opatra, and Antio- opatra, his mother,
chus Sidetes, take obliges him to repu-
arms against Gry- diate Cleopatra, his
pus. He has the eldest sister, and to
worst in the begin- marry Selenas, his
ning; but in two youngest.years obliges his bro- Cleopatra, queen
ther to divide the of Egypt, gives the
kingdom of Syria kingdom of Cyprus
with him. to Alexander, her

youngest son.

Cleopatra drives
Lathyrus out of E-
gypt, and places his
brother Alexander
upon the throne.Signal victory of
Lathyrus over Alex-
ander, king of the
Jews, upon the banks
of the Jordan.Cleopatra forces
Lathyrus to raise the
siege of Ptolemais,
and takes that city
herself.Cleopatra takes
her daughter Selenas
from Lathyrus, and
makes her marry
Antiochus the Cyzi-
cenian.

	A.C.	Syria.	Egypt.
		Grypus, succeeds him.	
3914	90	Demetrius Eu-	
3915	89	chares, fourth son of Grypus, is es-	Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.
3916	88	tablished king at Damascus, by the aid of Lathyrus.	Eusebes, defeated Alexander is expelled, and dies soon after.
		Parthians, who re-	Lathyrus is recal-
3919	85	Demetrius hav-	led.
		ing been taken by the throne two years the Parthians, after.	
		Antiochus Dionysius, the fifth son of Grypus, is set upon the throne, and killed the following year.	
3921	83	The Syrians, Eusebes takes re-	
		weary of so many fuge in Cilicia,	
3922	82	changes, choose where he remains Tigranes, king of concealed.	Lathyrus ruins Thebes in Egypt, where the rebels he had before defeated had taken refuge.
		Armenia, for their king. He reigns 14 years by a vice-roy.	
3923	81		Death of Lathyrus. Alexander II. son of Alexander I. under the protection of Sylla, is elected king.
3928	76		Death of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. His kingdom is reduced into a Roman province, as is Cyrenaica the same year.
3935	69	Tigranes recalls Antiochus Asiaticus takes possession of Syria, and reigns 4 years.	
3939	65	Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, Ptolemy Auletes, and reduces Syria into a Roman province.	Alexander is driven out of Egypt. Lathyrus's natural son, is sent in his place.
		<i>Egypt.</i>	
3946	58	The Romans depose Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and seize that island. Cato is charged with that commission.	

A.M. A.C

Egypt.

- 3946 58 Ptolemy Auletes is obliged to fly from Egypt. Berenice, the eldest of his daughters, is declared queen in his stead.
- 3949 55 Gabinius and Antony restore Auletes to the entire possession of his dominions.
- 3959 51 Death of Ptolemy Auletes. He leaves his dominions to his eldest son and daughter, the famous Cleopatra.
- 3956 48 Ponthinus and Achilles, the young king's guardians, deprive Cleopatra of her share in the government, and drive her out of Egypt.
- 3957 47 Death of the king of Egypt. Cæsar places Cleopatra upon the throne with Ptolemy her youngest brother.
- 3961 43 Cleopatra poisons her brother when he comes of age to share the sovereign authority according to the laws. She afterwards declares for the Roman triumviri.
- 3961 41 Cleopatra goes to Antony at Tarsus in Cilicia. She gains the ascendant of him, and carries him with her to Alexandria.
- 3971 33 Antony makes himself master of Armenia, and brings the king prisoner to Cleopatra. Coronation of Cleopatra and all her children.
- Rupture between Cæsar and Antony. Cleopatra accompanies the latter, who repudiates Octavia at Athens.
- 3978 31 Cleopatra flies at the battle of Actium. Antony follows her, and thereby abandons the victory to Cæsar.
- 3974 30 Antony dies in the arms of Cleopatra.
- Cæsar makes himself master of Alexandria. Cleopatra kills herself. Egypt is reduced into a Roman province.

*Cappadocia.**Partbian Empire.**Pontus.*

3490 514

The kingdom of Pontus was founded by Darius the son of Hystaspes, in the year 3490. Artabazus was the first king of it. His successors, down to Mithridates, are little known.

3600 404

Mithridates I. He is commonly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus.

3638 366

Ariobarzanès. He reigns 26 years.

3644 360 Ariarathus I. was

Mithridates II. He reigns 35 years.

3667 337 the first king of Cap-

padocia. He reigned

jointly with his

brother Holophernes.

A.M.A.C. *Cappadocia.**Parthian Empire.**Pontus.*

3668 335 Ariarathes II. son
of the first. He was
deprived of his do-
minions by Perdic-
cas, who sets Eume-
nes on the throne.

3689 315 Ariarathes III. as-
3702 302 cends the throne of
Cappadocia after
the death of Perdic-
cas and Eumenes.

3720 284 Ariamnes.

3754 250 Ariarathes IV.

Mithridates III.
reigns 36 years. The
reigns of the three
kings who succeed
him, include the
space of 100 years.
The last of them was
Mithridates IV.

Arsaces II. bro-
ther of the first. of Mithridates the
Priapatius. Great.
Phraates I.

3814 190 Ariarathes V.

3819 185

3840 164

3842 162 Ariarathes VI. sur-
named Philopater.

3873 131 Ariarathes VII.

3881 123 Ariarathes VIII.

Mithridates, king of ter a very short
Pontus, puts him to reign, he is sut-
ceded by Mith-
son upon the throne. rdates II. who
Soon after Ariarthes reigns 40 years.
IX. takes Cappado-
cia from the son of
Mithridates, who is
presently after re-
established by his fa-
ther.

3914 90 Sylla enters Cap-
padocia, drives the
son of Mithridates
out of it, and sets A-
riobarzanes I. upon
the throne.

3915 89 Tigranes, king of Mnasehires, & Beginning of the
Armenia, drives A-after him Sina-war between Mith-
riobarzanes out of troces. These 2 rdates and the Rq-
Cappadocia, and re-princes reign a-mans.
Instates the son of bout 20 years. Mithridates causes
Mithridates. all the Romans in

A.M.A.C. Cappadocia

Parthian Empire

Pontus.

Asia Minor to be massacred in one day.

Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, seizes Athens and most of the cities in Greece.

3917 27

Sylla is charged with the war against Mithridates. He retakes Athens after a long siege.

3918 26

Victory of Sylla over the generals of Mithridates near Cheronea. He gains a second battle soon after at Orchomenos.

3920 24

Treaty of peace between Mithridates and Sylla, which terminates the war.

3921 23

Mithridates puts his son to death.

3926 72 Sylla obliges Mithridates to restore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. Tigranes dispossesses him of it a second time. After the war with Mithridates, Pompey reinstates Ariobarzanes. His reign, and the very short one of his son, continues down to about the year 3952.

3928 76

Second war between Mithridates and the Romans. It subsists something less than three years.

3929 75

Mithridates makes an alliance with Serapion.

Beginning of the third war of Mithridates against the Romans. Lucullus and Cotta are placed at the head of the Roman army.

3930 74

Cotta is defeated by sea and land, and forced to shut himself up in Chalcedon. Lucullus goes to his aid.

3931 73

Mithridates forms the siege of Cyzicum. Lucullus obliges him to raise it at the end

A.M.A.C.	Cappadocia.	Parthian Empire.	Pellus.
			of two years, and pursues and beats him near the Granicus.
3933	71		Mithridates defeated in the plains of Cebiare. He retires to Tigranes.
3934	70		Lucullus declares
3935	69	Phraates III. war against Tigranes, who assumes the surname of God.	and soon after defeats him, and takes Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia.
3936	68		Lucullus defeats Tigranes and Mithridates, who had joined their forces near the river Arsamia.
3937	67		Mithridates recovers all his dominions, in effect of the misunderstandings that take place in the Roman army.
3938	66		Pompey is appointed to succeed Lucullus. He gains many advantages over Mithridates, and obliges him to fly.
			Tigranes surrenders himself to Pompey.
3939	65		Pompey makes
3940	64	Mithridates, eldest son of Phraates.	himself master of Caina, in which the treasures of Mithridates were laid up.
3950	54	Orodes. Unfortunate expedition of Crassus against the Parthians.	Death of Mithridates. Pharnaces his son, whom the army had elected king, submits his person and dominions to the Romans.
3953	51	Ariobaranes III. He is put to death by Cassius.	
3962	42	Ariarathes X.	Ventidius, general of the Romans, gains a victory over the Par-
3973	31	M. Antony drives Ariarathes out of Cappadocia, and sets	

A.M. A.C. *Cappadocia.* *Parthian Empire.* *Pontus.*

Archelaus in his thians, which replace. On the death tries the hon- of that prince, which our they had lost happened in the year at the battle of of the world 4022, Carra. Cappadocia was re- duced into a Roman province.

*Syracusa.**Carthage.*

Syracuse is said to have been founded in the year of the world 3158, the world 3295; before Christ before Christ 846.

3501 503 709.

First treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans. It appears that the Cartha- ginians had carried their arms into Sicily before this treaty, as they were in possession of part of it when it was conclu- ded: but what year they did so is not known.

3520 484 Gelon's beginning.

The Carthaginians make an alliance with Xerxes.

3523 481

3525 479 Gelon is elected king of Sy- Amilcar, attack the Greeks racuse. He reigns 5 or 6 years. settled in Sicily. They are

3532 472 Hiero I. He reigns 11 years. beaten by Gelon.

3543 461 Thrasybulus. In a year's time he is expelled by his sub- jects.

3544 460 The Syracusans enjoy their liberty during sixty years.

3589 415 The Athenians, assisted by

3592 412 the people of Segesta, under- The Carthaginians send take the siege of Syracuse un- troops under Hannibal to aid der their general Nicias. They the people of Segesta against are obliged to raise it at the the Syracusans. end of two years. The Syra- cusans pursue and defeat them entirely.

3593 411 Beginning of Dionysius the

3595 409 elder.

3598 406 Dionysius, after having de- sent to conquer Sicily. They posed the ancient magistrates open the campaign with the of Syracuse, is placed at the siege of Agrigentum. head of the new ones, and soon after causes himself to be de- clared generalissimo.

A.M. A.C.

Syracuse.

Carthage.

- 3600 404 Revolt of the Syracusans against Dionysius, upon account of the taking of Gela by the Carthaginians. It is followed by a treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Syracusans, by one of the conditions of which Syracuse is to continue in subjection to Dionysius. He establishes the tyranny in his own person. The war made by the Carthaginians in Sicily is terminated by a treaty of peace with the Syracusans.
- New troubles at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to put an end to them.
- 3605 399 Dionysius makes great preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians.
- 3607 397 Massacre of all the Carthaginians in Sicily, followed by a declaration of war, which Dionysius causes to be signified to them by an herald, whom he dispatched to Carthage. Imilcon goes to Sicily with an army, to carry on war against Dionysius. It subsists four or five years.
- 3615 389 Dionysius takes Rhegium by capitulation. The next year he breaks the treaty, and makes himself master of it again by force.
- 3632 372 Death of Dionysius the elder. His son, Dionysius the younger succeeds him. By the advice of Dion, his brother-in-law, he causes Plato to come to his court.
- Dion, banished by the order of Dionysius, retires into Peloponnesus.
- 3643 361 Dionysius makes Arete his sister, the wife of Dion, marry Timocrates, one of his friends. That treatment makes Dion resolve to attack the tyrant by open force.
- 3644 360 Dion obliges Dionysius to abandon Syracuse. He sets sail for Italy.

A.M.A.C.

Syracuse.

Carthage.

- 646 358 Callippus causes Dion to be assassinated, and makes himself master of Syracuse, where he reigns about 13 months.
- 3647 357 Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, drives Callippus out of Syracuse, and establishes himself in his place for two years.
- 3654 350 Dionysius reinstated. Second treaty of peace concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians.
- 3656 348 The Syracusans call in Timoleon to their aid. The Carthaginians make a new attempt to seize Sicily. They are defeated by Timoleon, sent by the Corinthians to the aid of the Syracusans, and to retire to Coriath. Hanno, citizen of Carthage,
- 3658 346 Timoleon abolishes tyranny forms the design of making at Syracuse, and throughout himself master of his country.
- 3672 332 Sicily, the liberty of which he reinstates. Embassy of Tyre to Carthage, to demand aid against Alexander the Great.
- 3685 319 Agathocles makes himself tyrant at Syracuse. Beginning of the war between the Carthaginians and Agathocles in Sicily and Africa.
- 3724 280 A Roman legion seizes Sicily.
- 3727 277 Rhegium by treachery. The Carthaginians send
- 3729 275 Hiero and Artemidorus the Romans aid under Mago are made supreme magistrates against Pyrrhus by the Syracusan troops.
- 3736 268 Hiero is declared king by the Syracusans.
- 3741 263 Appius Claudius goes to Sicily to aid the Mamertines against the Carthaginians. It subsists twenty-four years.
- 3743 261 Hiero, who was at first against him, comes to an accommodation with him, and makes an alliance with the Carthaginians in Agrigentum, and take the city after a siege of seven months.
- 3748 259 Romans. Sea-fight between the Romans and Carthaginians, near the coast of Myle.
- 3749 255 Sea-fight near Ecnome in Sicily.
- 3750 254 Regulus in Africa. He is taken prisoner.
- Xanthippus comes to the aid of the Carthaginians.

A.M. A.C.

Syracuse.

Carthage.

3655 259

Regulus is sent to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners. At his return the Carthaginians put him to death with the most cruel torments.

3756 248

Siege of Lilybæum by the Romans.

3763 241 Hiero sends the Carthaginians against the foreign mercenaries.

Defeat of the Carthaginians near the islands Ægates, followed by a treaty that puts an end to the first Punic war.

War of Libya against the foreign mercenaries. It subsists three years and 4 months.

3767 237

The Carthaginians give up Sardinia to the Romans, and engage to pay them 1200 talents.

3776 228

Amilcar is killed in Spain. Asdrubal, his son-in-law, succeeds him in the command of the army.

Hannibal is sent into Spain upon the demand of his uncle Asdrubal.

3784 220

Asdrubal's death. Hannibal is made general of the army in his stead.

3786 218 Hiero goes to meet the consul Tib. Sempronius, in order to offer him his services against the Carthaginians.

Siege of Saguntum. Beginning of the second Punic war, which subsists seventeen years.

3787 217

Hannibal enters Italy, and gains the battles of Ticinus and Trebia.

3788 216

Battle of Thrasymenus. Hannibal deceives Fabius at the straits of Cassilinum.

Cn. Scipio defeats the Carthaginians in Spain.

3789 215 Death of Hiero. Hieronymus his grandson succeeds him. Hieronymus abandons the party of the Romans, and enters into an alliance with Hannibal. He is assassinated soon after. His death is fol-

Battle of Cannæ. Hannibal retires to Capua after this battle.

3790 214 followed with great troubles to Syracuse.

Asdrubal is beaten in Spain by the two Scipios.

A.M. A.C.

Syracuse.

Carthage.

8798 212 Marcellus takes Syracuse,
after a siege of three years.

Carthage.

8798 211 The two Scipios are killed in Spain.

The Romans besiege Capua.

8794 210 Hannibal advances to Rome, and besieges it. The Ro-
mans soon after take Capua.

8798 206 Asdrubal enters Italy. He is defeated by the consal Li-
vius, whom the other consal Nero had joined.

8799 206 Scipio makes himself master of all Spain. He is made
consul the year following, and goes to Africa.

8802 208 Hannibal is recalled to the aid of his country.

8800 201 Interview of Hannibal and Scipio in Africa followed by a
bloody battle, in which the Romans gain a complete victory.

8804 200 Treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Romans,
which puts an end to the second Punic war.

Fifty years elapsed between the end of the second and
the beginning of the third Punic wars.

8810 194 Hannibal is made prætor of Carthage, and reforms the
courts of justice and the finances. After having exercised
that office two years, he retires to king Antiochus at Ephe-
sus, whom he advises to carry the war into Italy.

8813 191 Interview of Hannibal and Scipio at Ephesus.

8816 188 Hannibal takes refuge in the island of Crete, to avoid
being delivered up to the Romans.

8820 184 Hannibal abandons the island of Crete, to take refuge
with Prusias, king of Bithynia.

8822 182 Death of Hannibal.

8823 181 The Romans send commissioners into Africa, to adjudge
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Masinissa.

8826 158 Second embassy sent by the Romans into Africa, to ad-
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and Masinissa.

8853 149 Beginning of the third Punic war. It subsists a little
more than four years.

8856 148 Carthage is besieged by the Romans.

8858 146 Scipio the younger is made consul, and receives the com-
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8859 145 Scipio takes and entirely demolishes Carthage.

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- Apelles**, courtier of Philip, vi. 280 ; abuses his power, *ibid.* ; he endeavours to humble and enslave the Achæans, *ibid.* ; he perishes miserably, 295.
- Apelles**, Perseus's accomplice in accusing Demetrius, is sent ambassador to Rome by Philip, vii. 91 ; after the death of Demetrius, he escapes into Italy, 95.
- Apelles**, officer of Antiochus Epiphanes, endeavours to make Mattathias sacrifice to idols, vii. 117 ; Mattathias kills him with all his followers, 118.
- Apellicon**, Athenian library erected by him at Athens, viii. 112.
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- Apollophanes**, physician to Antiochus the Great, discovers to that prince the conspiracy formed against him by Hermias, vi. 257 ; salutary advice which he gave Antiochu, 261.
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- Appius (Claudius)**, Roman senator, prevents the senate from accepting the offers of Pyrrhus, vi. 136.
- Appius (Claudius)**, a Roman, commands a body of troops, and is beat near Ucana, against which he marched with design to plunder it, vii. 170.
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- Aræus**, one of the Spartan exiles, is reinstated by the Achæans, and carries accusations against them to Rome, vii. 53 ; the Achæans condemn him to die, 56 ; his sentence is annulled by the Romans, 58.
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- Araspes**, lord of Media, is appointed by Cyrus to keep Panthæa prisoner, ii. 75 ; passion which he conceives for that princess, *ibid.* ; goodness of Cyrus in respect to him, *ibid.* ; he does that prince great service in going as a spy among the Assyrians, *ibid.*
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- Arbaces, governor of the Medes for Sardanapalus, revolts against that prince, and founds the kingdom of the Medes, ii. 18, 19, 33.
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- Archagathus, son of Agathocles, commands in Africa after his father's departure, i. 274 : he perishes there miserably, 275.
- Archelaus, governor of Susa for Alexander, v. 189.
- Archelaus, general for Antigonius, marches against Aratus, who besieged Corinth, and is taken prisoner, vi. 201 : Aratus sets him at liberty, 202.
- Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, takes Athens, viii. 97 : he is driven out of it by Sylla, 101 : he is defeated by the same captain first at Cheronæa, 102 : and then at Orchomenos, 107 : he escapes to Chalcis, *ibid.* : and has an interview with Sylla near Delium, 107 : Archelaus goes over to Muraena, 113 : he engages the latter to make war against Mithridates, *ibid.*
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- Arsites**, satrap of Phrygia, occasions the defeat of the Persians at the Granicus, v. 99 ; he kills himself through despair, 102.
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- Asdrubal**, Hamilcar's son-in-law, commands the Carthaginian army in Spain, i. 309; he builds Carthage, *ibid.*; he is killed treacherously by a Gaul, 310.
- Asdrubal**, surnamed Calvus, is made prisoner in Sardinia by the Romans, i. 346.
- Asdrubal**, Hannibal's brother, commands the troops in Spain after his brother's departure, i. 315; he receives orders from Carthage to march to Italy to the aid of his brother, 346; he sets forward, and is defeated, *ibid.*; he loses a great battle near the river Metaurus, and is killed in it, 352.
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- Hermolaus**, officer in the train of Alexander, conspires against that prince, v. 242 ; he is discovered and punished, *ibid.*
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- Hipparchus**, son of Pisistratus, governs at Athens after his father's death, ii. 255: his taste for literature, *ibid.*: he is killed in the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogiton, 258.
- Hipparchinus**, brother of Dionysius, drives Calippus out of Syracuse, and reigns there two years, iv. 219.
- Hippias**, son of Pisistratus, retains the sovereignty after the death of his father, ii. 255: he finds means to frustrate the conspiracy formed by Harmodius and Aristogiton, 256: he is compelled to quit Attica, and goes to settle in Phrygia, 258: he takes refuge in Asia with Artaphernes, 260, 311: he engages the Persians in the war against the Greeks, and serves them as a guide, 322: he is killed at Marathon, fighting against his country, 326.
- Hippocrates**, famous physician; his great ability, ii. 218: his disinterestedness, iii. 174.
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- Hyrcanus**, son of Joseph, is sent by his father to the court of Alexandria, to compliment the king upon the birth of his son Philometer, vii. 45 : he distinguishes himself at the court by his address and magnificence, 46.
- Hyrcanus** (John) son of Simon, is declared high-priest and prince of the Jews after his father's death, vii. 304 : he is besieged by Antiochus Sidetes in Jerusalem, *ibid.* : and surrenders by capitulation, *ib.* : he renders himself absolute and independent, 305 : he renews the treaty with the Romans, 312 : he augments his power in Judea, 318 : he takes Samaria, and demolishes it, 319 : he becomes an enemy to the Pharisees, 321 : he dies, *ibid.*
- Hyrcanus**, son of Alexander Jannæus, is made high-priest of the Jews, vii. 347 : after the death of Alexander, he takes possession of the throne, *ibid.* : he is obliged to submit to Aristobulus his younger brother, *ibid.* : he has recourse to Pompey, who replaces him upon the throne, 354, &c. : he is again dethroned by Pacorus, son of Orodes, and delivered up to Antigonus, who causes his ears to be cut off, 356 : the Parthians carry him into the east, *ibid.* : he returns to Jerusalem, where Herod puts him to death, *ibid.*
- Hystaspes**, father of Darius, governor of Persia, ii. 146.
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- Josiah, king of Judah, marches against Necho, is defeated, and dies of a wound received in battle, i. 208.
- Iphicrates, Athenian, is sent to aid Corcyra, iv. 250 ; he is placed at the head of the Grecian troops in the expedition of Artaxerxes against Egypt, 239 : he retires to Athens, where Pharnabazus causes him to be accused of making the expedition miscarry, 291 ; the Athenians employ him in the war with the allies, 304 : he is accused by Chares, 306 ; and cited to take his trial, *ibid* ; means which he employed for his defense, *ibid* ; he re-establishes Perdikkas upon the throne of Macedonia, v. 5 ; praise of Iphicrates, iv. 330 ; military discipline which he establishes among the troops, *ibid*.
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Lajus, king of Thebes, his misfortunes, ii. 216.

Lamachus is appointed general with Nicias and Alcibiades in the expedition of the Athenians against Sicily, iii. 228 ; his poverty makes him contemptible to the troops, 240 ; he is killed at the siege of Syracuse, 250.

Lamia, courtesan to Demetrius ; her enormous expences, vi. 76.

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Laodice, daughter of Mithridates, king of Pontus, marries Antiochus the Great, vi. 253.

Laodice, sister of Demetrius Soter, and widow of Perseus, king of Macedonia, is put to death by Ammonius, favourite of Alexander Bala, vi. 285.

Laodice, wife of Ariarathes VI. acts as regent during the minority of his princes, her children, viii. 35 ; she poisons five of them, and pre-

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- pares to do the same by the sixth, but is herself put to death by the people, 36.
- Laodice, sister of Mithridates Eupator, marries first Ariarathes VII, king of Cappadocia, and afterwards Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, viii. 36; part which he makes her act at Rome before the senate, 92.
- Laomedon, one of Alexander's captains; provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, v. 328; he is dispossessed of them by Nicator, who takes him prisoner, 356.
- Laranda, city of Pisidia, revolts against Perdiccas, who destroys it, v. 347.
- Larissa, city of Thessaly, ii. 218.
- Lathenes, chief magistrate of Olynthus, puts that city in the hands of Philip, v. 29.
- Lathenes, of Crete, supplies Demetrius Nicator with troops for ascending the throne of Syria, vii. 265; his bad conduct makes that prince commit many faults, 287.
- Lentulus, consul, is ordered to reinstate Ptolemy Auletes upon the throne, viii. 156; he is prevented from executing that commission by a pretended oracle of the Sibyls, 158.
- Leonatus, one of Alexander's captains; provinces that fall to him after that prince's death, v. 328; he marches to the aid of Antipater besieged in Lamia, 334; he is killed in a battle, 335.
- Leonidas I. king of Sparta, defends the pass of Thermopylæ against the army of Xerxes, iii. 26; he is killed there, 27; the Spartans erect a monument to him, 28.
- Leonidas II. reigns in Sparta jointly with Agis, vi. 208; he opposes the design of that prince, 213; he is divested of the sovereignty, 214; he escapes to Tegea, 215; he is recalled, and replaced upon the throne, 218; he lays snares for Agis, 219, and puts him to death, 221; he obliges the wife of that prince to marry his son Cleomenes, 222; death of Leonidas, 224; his character, 208.
- Leontidas, polemarch of Thebes, puts the citadel of that place into the hands of the Spartans, iv. 238; he imprisons Ismenius, who was his opponent, *ibid.*: he sends persons to Athens to assassinate the principal exiles, 242; Pelopidas, at the head of the conspirators, kills him, 246.
- Leontium, city of Sicily, iii. 226.
- Leontius, Philip's general, insults Aratus grossly at a feast, vi. 290; he is security for the fine laid on Megaleas upon the same account, *ibid.*; Philip takes the command of his troops from him, and puts him to death, 294, &c.
- Leosthenes, Athenian, informs Athens of Alexander's death, and animates them to throw off the Lacedæmonian yoke, v. 332; he is placed at the head of the Greeks allied against Antipater, 334; his glorious exploits, *ibid.*; he receives a wound at the siege of Lamia, 335; and dies soon after, 336.
- Leotyichides, king of Lacedæmonia, in conjunction with Xanthippus the Athenian, gains a famous victory over the Persians near Mycale, iii. 59.

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- Leotychides, son of Temma, wife of Agia, passes for the son of Alcibiades, and for that reason is excluded the throne, iii. 241, iv. 6.
- Leptinus, brother of Dionysius, is put to flight by the Carthaginians with the fleet under his command, iv. 171; he is banished, 183; and soon after recalled, *ibid.*; he kills Calippus, Dion's murderer, 218; he surrenders himself to Timoleon, who sends him to Corinth, 231.
- Leptinus, Syrian, kills Octavius the Roman ambassador, vii. 277; Demetrius delivers him up to the senate, 280.
- Leptinus, Syracusan, Hiero's father-in-law, viii. 44.
- Lesbos, island of Greece, ii. 207; revolt of that island against the Athenians, iii. 185: the Athenians reduce it to its former obedience, 191.
- Levinus, Roman consul, defeated by Pyrrhus, vi. 134.
- Levinus (M. Valerius) is sent into Greece and Macedonia in quality of prætor, to oppose the enterprises of Philip, vi. 305; enemies he excites against that prince, *ibid.* &c.
- Lewis XV. king of France, glorious testimony which that prince renders the French nation, vii. 37.
- Libya, part of Africa: war of Libya, or of the mercenaries, i. 298.
- Licinius, consul, is sent into Macedonia against Perseus, vii. 158; he encamps near the river Peneus, 161; he is defeated in a battle, 164, &c. and afterwards gains some advantage over Perseus, 168.
- Liguria, province of Italy, vi. 236; its inhabitants subjected to the Marseillans by the Romans, *ibid.*
- Lilybæum, city of Sicily, besieged by the Romans, i. 292.
- Livius, consul is sent into Cisalpine Gaul to oppose the entrance of Asdrubal into Italy, i. 350; he defeats that general in a great battle, 352.
- Lucretius, prætor, commands the Roman fleet sent against Perseus, vii. 159; he besieges Haliartus, a city of Boeotia, and takes and demolishes it entirely, 160.
- Lucullus commands the Roman fleet sent against Mithridates, and gains two great victories over that prince, viii. 107; he is elected consul, and charged with the war against Mithridates, 116; he obliges that prince to raise the siege of Cyzicum, 117; and defeats his troops, *ibid.*; he gains a complete victory over him, 120; and obliges him to take refuge with Tigranes, king of Armenia, 121; he sends an ambassador to demand Mithridates, 122; he regulates the affairs of Asia, *ibid.* &c.; he declares war against Tigranes, 124; and marches against him, 125; he besieges Tigranocerta, 126; he gains a great victory over Tigranes, 130; and takes Tigranocerta, 131; he gains a second victory over the joint forces of Mithridates and Tigranes, 134: his army refuses to obey him, 135; Pompey is sent to command in his stead, 138: Lucullus returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph, 141; his character, 137.
- Lusitania, part of the ancient Spain, i. 247.
- Lycia, province of Asia Minor, i. 26.

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- Lycortas**, Polybius's father is sent by the Achæans to Ptolemy Epiphanes, vii. 45 ; he is elected their general, and avenges Philopomen's death, 61.
- Lycurgus**, son of Eunomus, king of Sparta, governs the kingdom as guardian to his nephew Charilaus, ii. 222 ; he endeavours to reform the government of Sparta, and makes several voyages with that view, *ibid.* ; on his return he changes the form of the government, 223 ; he goes to Delphi to consult the oracle, and dies voluntarily by abstaining from food, 232 ; reflections upon Lycurgus's death, 233 ;
- Lydia**, country of Asia Minor, i. 26.
- Lynecestes** (Alexander) is convicted of a conspiracy against Alexander the Great, and put to death, v. 217.
- Lyfandra**, Ptolemy's daughter, marries Agathocles, son of Lyfimachus, vi. 112 ; after the death of her husband, she retires to Seleucus, and engages him to make war against Lyfimachus, 113.
- Lyfander**, Spartan, is appointed admiral by the Spartans, iii. 294 ; his influence with Cyrus the younger, 296 ; he beats the Athenian fleet near Ephesus, 297 ; his envy of Callicratidas, sent to succeed him, 299 ; he commands the fleet of the Spartans a second time, and gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos, 313 ; he takes Athens, and entirely changes the form of the government, 316 ; he returns to Sparta, and sends thither before him all the gold and silver taken from the enemy, *ibid.* ; he is sent to re-establish the thirty tyrants, 329 ; he strangely abuses his power, and suffers the Grecian cities of Asia Minor to consecrate altars to him, 332 ; upon the complaint of Pharnabazus, he is recalled to Sparta, 333 ; Lyfander accompanies Agefilaus into Asia, iv. 9 ; he quarrels with him, 11 ; and returns to Sparta, 12 ; his ambitious designs for changing the succession to the throne, *ibid.* ; he is killed before Haliartus, which he was going to besiege, 22 ; some time after his death, the plot he had formed against the two kings is discovered, 29 ; Lyfander's character, iii. 296.
- Lyfander** is elected one of the ephori at Sparta by the favour of Agis, vi. 212 ; he endeavours to make the people receive the ordinances of that excellent young king, *ibid.*
- Lyfiades**, tyrant of Megalopolis, renounces his power upon the remonstrances of Aratus, and makes his city enter into the Achæan league, vi. 207 ; they make him their captain-general three times successively, and then expel him, *ibid.* ; he is killed in battle, *ibid.*
- Lyfias**, kinsman of Antiochus Epiphanes, is made governor by that prince of part of his dominions, and preceptor to Antiochus Epiphanes, vii. 125 ; Antiochus gives him the command of the army against the Jews, *ibid.* ; he is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 129 ; he possesses himself of the regency during the minority of Antiochus Eupator, 268 ; the government of Cœlosyria and Palestine is given to him, 269 ; he is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 270 ; he makes peace with the Jews, *ibid.* ; he is delivered up to Demetrius Soter, who puts him to death, 278.
- Lyfias**, one of the Athenian generals, who defeated the Spartans near

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the islands Arginuse, and at his return was condemned to die, iii. 302, 307.

Lyfias of Syracuse, Greek orator, goes to settle at Thurium, iii. 159 ; he raises 500 men to aid the Athenians against the tyrants, 328 ; he carries Socrates's discourse for his defence, 78 : character of Lyfias's style, *ibid.*

Lyficles commands the Athenian army at Cheronæa, and is defeated by Philip, v. 60.

Lyfimachus, one of Alexander's captains ; provinces which fell to him after Alexander's death, v. 328 ; he enters into a league with Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Cassander, against Antigonus, vi. 30 ; treaty of peace between those princes, which is immediately broken, 40 ; Lyfimachus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Seleucus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 76 ; they divide Alexander's empire amongst them, 79 ; alliance of Lyfimachus with Ptolemy, 82 ; he takes Macedonia from Demetrius, 90 ; and divides it with Pyrrhus, 92 ; he obliges Pyrrhus soon after to quit it, 93 ; he marches against Seleucus, gives him battle, and is killed, 116.

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Macedonia, Macedoniana, kingdom of Greece, ii. 209 ; origin of the Macedonians, 210 ; commencement of their empire, 217 ; kings before Philip, v. 2 ; reigns of Philip, 6 ; and his son Alexander, 87 ; Alexander's successors who reigned in Macedonia ; Cassander, vi. 79 ; Demetrius Poliorcetes, 88 ; Pyrrhus, 90 ; Lyfimachus, 93 ; Seleucus, 116 ; Ptolemy Ceraunus, *ibid.* ; Sosthenes, 121 ; Antigonus Gonatus, 125 ; Demetrius, son of Antigonus, 184 ; Antigonus Doson, 190 ; Philip, son of Demetrius, 247 ; Perseus, vii. 75 ; Macedonia is declared free by the Romans, vii. 207 ; and some time after reduced into a Roman province, 244.

Machanidas becomes tyrant of Sparta, vi. 308 ; endeavours to subject Peloponnesus, 331 ; Philopomen marches against him, *ibid.* ; Machanidas is defeated and killed in battle, 334.

Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and Lybia, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus, and causes himself to be declared king of those provinces, vi. 163 ; he causes overtures of accommodation to be made to that prince, and dies during the negotiation, 168.

Magas put to death by his brother Ptolemy Philopater, vi. 261.

Magi, directors of the worship of the Persians, ii. 190 ; their religion, 191.

Magnesia, city of Caria in Asia Minor, i. 25 ; Artaxerxes gives the revenues of it to Themistocles, iii. 90.

Mago, Carthaginian general, is sent into Sicily to make war against Dionysius the elder, iv. 170 ; after various efforts he concludes a peace with that tyrant, 176 ; he kills himself, *ibid.*

Mago, the former's son, commands the army of the Carthaginians in Sicily, and gains a great victory over Dionysius the elder, i. 263 ;

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- the Carthaginians place him at the head of their troops in Sicily against Dionysius the younger, 263, iv. 229 : he shamefully abandons the conquest of Sicily, i. 264 ; he returns to Carthage, and kills himself through despair, *ibid.* ; iv. 229.
- Mago**, Carthaginian general, is placed at the head of the fleet sent to aid the Romans against Pyrrhus, i. 276 ; he goes to Pyrrhus in order to sound his designs in respect to Sicily, *ibid.*
- Mago**, Hannibal's brother, carries the news of that general's victory over the Romans at the battle of Cannæ to Carthage, i. 342.
- Mago**, Carthaginian general, taken prisoner in Sardinia, i. 346.
- Malli**, a people of India ; their war with Alexander, v. 273 ; they submit to that prince, 274.
- Mamertines**, people originally of Italy, seize Messina, i. 278 ; defeated by Pyrrhus, vi. 145 ; a division amongst them occasions the first punie war, i. 278, viii. 50.
- Manasseh**, king of Judah, is put in chains by the generals of Esarhad-don, and carried captive to Babylon, ii. 25 ; obtains his liberty, and returns to Jerusalem, *ibid.*
- Mandana**, daughter of Astyages king of the Medes, is given in marriage to Cambyfes king of Persia, ii. 43 ; she goes to Media, and carries her son Cyrus with her, 56 ; she returns into Persia, 59.
- Mania**, wife of Zenis, governs Attolia, after the death of her husband, with admirable conduct, iv. 2 ; she is assassinated, with her son, by Midias her son-in-law, 3.
- Manius Curius**, consul, defeats Pyrrhus, and obliges him to quit Italy, vi. 142.
- Manius Aquilius**, consul, ends the war with Aristonicus, 302 ; and enters Rome in triumph, 303.
- Manlius (L.)** is appointed consul with Regulus, i. 281 ; they jointly gain a great victory over the Carthaginians near Ecnoma in Sicily, 282 ; they go to Africa, *ibid.* ; Manlius is recalled, *ibid.*
- Marcellus (M.)** consul, is sent into Sicily to appease the troubles there, vii. 68 ; he forms the siege of Syracuse, 76 ; the considerable losses of men and ships by the dreadful machines of Archimedes obliges him to turn the siege into a blockade, 79 ; he undertakes several expeditions in Sicily, 80 ; he makes himself master of Syracuse by means of his intelligence in it, 82 ; he abandons the city to be plundered, 85 ; honours which he pays to the memory of Archimedes, 86 ; Marcellus, at first as prætor, and afterwards as consul, gains several advantages over Hannibal, i. 346.
- Marcus**, ambassador of the Romans in Greece, has an interview with Perseus near the river Peneus, vii. 154 ; he returns to Rome, 156 ; he is sent again into Greece to regulate affairs there, 157.
- Marcus Philippus (Q.)** consul, charged with the war against Persens, vii. 172 ; advances towards Macedonia, 173 ; which he penetrates into, and takes several cities there, *ibid.* &c.
- Mardonius**, son-in-law of Darius, enters Macedonia, ii. 315 ; his ill success obliges Darius to recal him, *ibid.* ; persuades Xerxes to invade Greece, iii. 2 ; Xerxes chooses him one of his generals, 17 ; and

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- leaves him with a numerous army to reduce Greece, 40; makes advantageous offers to the Athenians, 46; enters Athens, and burns it, 47; defeated and killed at Platæa, 52.
- Maronæa, city of Thrace; cruel treatment of its inhabitants by Philip, vii. 54.
- Marius, lieutenant under Metellus, supplants that general, and causes himself to be appointed general for terminating the war with Jugurtha, i. 416; whom he gets into his hands, and makes an ornament of his triumph, 417.
- Marius (M.) sent to the aid of Mithridates, viii. 114; taken by Lucullus, and put to death, 118.
- Marfeilliens; their embassy to Rome, vii. 236; their origin, 237; they settle in Gaul, *ibid.*; wisdom of their government, 238; attachment to the Romans, 240; obtain grace for Phocæa, which had been condemned to be destroyed, 303.
- Malimissa, king of Numidia, espouses the party of the Romans against the Carthaginians, i. 353, 377; aids the Romans against Perseus, vii. 152; marries Sophonisba, and poisons her, i. 380; contests between him and the Carthaginians, whom he defeats in battle, 381; at his death appoints Scipio Æmilianus guardian of his children, 391.
- Masistus, son of Darius and Atossa, is one of the six commanders of the army of Xerxes, iii. 17; tragical death of him and his children, 62, 63.
- Mattathias, Jew, refuses to obey Antiochus, vii. 118; retires with his family to avoid the persecution, *ibid.*; his death, 122.
- Matho, in concert with Spendius, causes the mercenaries to revolt against the Carthaginians, i. 300; he is placed at their head, *ibid.*; takes Hannibal prisoner, and causes him to be hanged up in the room of Spendius, 305; taken by the Carthaginians, and executed, 306.
- Maussolus, king of Caria, enters into a conspiracy against Artaxerxes, iv. 295; he subjects the Rhodians and the people of Cos, 311; his death, *ibid.*; honour paid to his memory by Artemisa his wife, *ibid.*
- Medes, ancient people of Asia inhabiting Media, ii. 34; history of the kingdom of the Medes, *ibid.*; empires of the Medes and Persians united, 129; revolt of the Medes, against Darius Nothus, iii. 214; that prince obliges them to return to their duty, *ibid.*; manners of the Medes, ii. 56; manner in which they contracted alliances, 40.
- Media, kingdom of Upper or Greater Asia, i. 25.
- Medon, son of Codrus, is placed at the head of the common people of Athens, under the title of archon, ii. 214.
- Megabates, noble Persian, occasions the miscarrying of the enterprise of the Persians against Naxos through jealousy of Aristagoras, iii. 354.
- Megabyfus, governor of Thrace for Darius, occasions the permission that prince had given Hylistus to build a city in Thrace to be revoked, ii. 304; he sends deputies to demand earth and water of

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- Amintas**, 305; insolence of those deputies at the court of Amintas, and revenge taken of them by the sons of that prince, *ibid.*
- Megabyfus**, son of Zopyrus, is one of the six generals in the army of Xerxes, iii. 17; discovers the plot formed by Artabanus against Artaxerxes, 83; charged with the war against the Egyptians, 101; whom he subjects and promises to spare their lives, *ibid.*; in despair on seeing the Egyptians put to death, contrary to the faith of treaty, revolts against Artaxerxes, 103; defeats two armies sent against him, *ibid.*; restored to favour, and returns to court, *ibid.*; Artaxerxes's jealousy of Megabyfus at an hunting-match, *ibid.*; death of Megabyfus, *ibid.*
- Megacles**, son of Alcmaeon, puts himself at the head of one of the factions that divided Athens in Solon's time, ii. 252; his marriage with Agorista, daughter of Clisthenes, *ibid.*; drives Pisistratus out of Athens, and soon after recalls him, 254; he is obliged to quit Athens, *ibid.*
- Megaleas**, Philip's general, devotes himself to Apelles, that prince's minister, vi. 294; he insults Aratus, in concert with Leontius, at the breaking up of a feast, 290; Philip imprisons him, and then sets him at liberty, *ibid.*; his bad designs against Philip are discovered, 294; he kills himself to avoid a trial, and the execution of sentence against him, *ibid.*
- Megalopolis**, city of Arcadia; Aratus makes it enter into the Achæan league, vi. 207.
- Megara**, city of Achaia, ii. 220.
- Melitus**, Athenian orator, accuses Socrates, iv. 71: success of that accusation, 78: he is condemned to die, *ibid.*
- Memnon**, Rhodian, reinstated in the favour of Ochus, against whom he had taken arms, iv. 349: advises Darius's generals from fighting the battle of the Granicus, v. 99: defends Miletus, 104: and Halicarnassus, against Alexander, 105: he transports the inhabitants of that city to the island of Cos, *ibid.*: he advises Darius to carry the war into Macedonia, 108: that prince gives the execution of that enterprise to him, and makes him generalissimo, *ibid.*: Memnon besieges Mitylene, and dies before that place, *ibid.*
- Memphis**, city of Egypt: its foundation, i. 188: taken by Cambyfes, ii. 137: and afterwards by Alexander, v. 165.
- Menander**, Athenian, colleague to Nicias in Sicily, iii. 257: whom he forces to engage in a sea-fight, in which he is worsted, 262: partly the cause of the Athenian's defeat near Ægospotamos, 312.
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- Philotas**, son of Parmenio, commands a body of horse in Alexander's expedition against Persia, v. 27; the pretended conspiracy for which he is put to death, 215, &c.
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- Phraates IV.** is nominated king by his father Orodes, viii. 31 ; whom he puts, with his brothers and his son, to death, *ibid.*
- Phraortes**, king of the Medes, succeeds his father Dejeoces, ii. 38 ; subdues Upper Asia, *ibid.* ; makes war against the Assyrians, *ibid.* ; he is defeated and put to death, 39.
- Phrygia**, province of Asia Minor, i. 26.
- Pindar**, Greek lyric poet, character of his works, iii. 151.
- Pisander**, Athenian, persuades the Athenians to recal Alcibiades, iii. 284 ; the Athenians send him to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes, *ibid.* ; at his return he changes the form of government, 285.
- Pisander**, Lacedæmonian, is appointed by Agesilaus his brother-in-law to command the fleet, iv. 18 ; is defeated by Conon near Cnidos, and killed in the battle, 26.
- Pisistratus**, Athenian, makes himself tyrant of Athens, ii. 252 ; lenity of his government, 255 ; death, *ibid.* ; his character, *ibid.* ; library founded by him at Athens, *ibid.*
- Pisuthnes**, governor of Lydia for Darius, revolts, iii. 205 ; is taken and put to death, *ibid.*
- Pithon**, one of Alexander's captains, is made governor of Media by Antipater, v. 353 ; he causes Philotas to be put to death, and takes possession of his government, vi. 14 ; he is driven out of Media by Peucestes, and obliged to retire to Seleucus, *ibid.* ; Antigonos puts him to death, 30.
- Plataea**, city of Boeotia, ii. 206 ; the Plataeans acquire glory at the battle of Marathon, ii. 323 ; they refuse to submit to Xerxes, iii. 20 ; the Greeks decree the prize of valour to them after the defeat of Mardonius, 54 ; institute an anniversary festival in honour of those who died in battle, 57 ; siege of Plataea by the Thebans, 164 ; Plataea besieged and taken by the Lacedæmonians, 181 ; the Plataeans retire to Athens, *ibid.* ; Alexander permits them to build their city, 184.
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Psammitichus, one of the twelve kings in Egypt, is banished, i. 204; defeats the other eleven, and remains sole monarch, 205; makes war against the king of Assyria, *ibid.*; he besieges Azotus, and takes it, after a siege of twenty-nine years, *ibid.*; he prevents the Scythians from invading Egypt, *ibid.*; his method of knowing whether the Egyptians were the most ancient people of the earth, 206.

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Ptolemy I. son of Lagus, one of Alexander's generals, takes several cities of India, v. 248; he is dangerously wounded at the siege of a city of India, 273; he is cured soon after, 274; provinces which fall to him, 328; causes the body of Alexander to be carried to Alexandria, 346; enters into a league against Perdiccas and Eumenes, 348; becomes master of Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea, 355; he takes Jerusalem, *ibid.*; he forms a league against Antigonus, vi. 30; seizes the island of Cyprus, 34; defeats Demetrius, *ibid.*; and takes Tyre, 35; defeat of one of his generals by Demetrius, 36; different expeditions of Ptolemy against Antigonus, 42; Ptolemy is defeated by Demetrius, who takes from him the isle of Cyprus, 53; Ptolemy assumes the title of king, 54; sends aid to the Rhodians, 66, 68; Ptolemy allies himself with Seleucus, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 76; these four princes divide the empire of Alexander amongst them, 79; Ptolemy retakes the island of Cyprus, 87; he renews the league with Lyfimachus and Seleucus against Demetrius, 89; he abdicates the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, 97; death of Ptolemy Soter, 102; praise of that prince, *ibid.* famous library which he caused to be erected at Alexandria, 99.

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- Ptolemy III.** surnamed Evergetes, succeeds his father Ptolemy Philadelphus, vi. 178; for the death of his sister Berenice, puts Laodice to death, and seizes part of Asia, 180; in returning from that expedition, he goes to Jerusalem, and offers sacrifices there to the God of Israel, 182; league of Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus Callinicus against Ptolemy, 184; the latter comes to an accommodation with Seleucus, *ibid.*; he causes Antiochus to be seized, and imprisons him, 187; he augments the library of Alexandria, *ibid.*; he gives Joseph, the nephew of Onias, the farm of the revenues of the provinces of Coelosyria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Samaria, 190; arrival of Cleomenes at the court of Egypt, 247; death of Ptolemy, Evergetes, *ibid.*; Ptolemy's liberality to the Rhodians, 248.
- Ptolemy IV.** surnamed Philopater, ascends the throne of Egypt after the death of Ptolemy Evergetes, vi. 248, 250; injustice and cruelty of that prince to Cleomenes, 265, 266; Antiochus the Great undertakes to recover Coelosyria from Ptolemy, 261, 262; short truce between those two princes, *ibid.*; Ptolemy gains a victory over Antiochus at Raphia, 265; he comes to Jerusalem, 266; rage and revenge of Ptolemy against the Jews, because they refuse to let him enter into the sanctuary, *ibid.*; he grants Antiochus peace, *ibid.*; the Egyptians revolt against Philopater, 268; that prince gives himself up to all manner of excesses, 269; he puts Arsinoë his wife and sister to death, *ibid.*; he dies, worn out with debauches, 342.
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- Sicily, island of the Mediterranean; description of it, i. 250; different people that inhabited it, iii. 226.
- Sicyon, city of Peloponnesus; its kings, ii. 214; freed from tyranny, and united to the Achaean league by Aratus, vi. 293; Sicyon was long in great reputation for arts and sciences, 196.
- Sidon, city of Phœnicia, i. 26; despair of the Sidenians when they see Ochus master of their city, iv. 316; submit to Alexander, v. 133.
- Signals by fire; manner of making signals by fire, vi. 321.
- Simon, surnamed the Just, high-priest of the Jews; vi. 81; his death, 89.
- Simon, son of Mattathias, vii. 115; chosen general in the room of his brother Jonathan, marches against Tryphon, 291; made high-priest and prince of Judea, 292; renews the ancient treaties with the Romans, *ibid.*; his death, 304.
- Simon, keeper of the temple, his treachery, vii. 97.
- Smerdis, or Tanaxares, son of Cyrus, ii. 126; Cambyfes puts him to death, 140.
- Smerdis the Magian, passes for the son of Cyrus, ii. 143, &c.; and his imposture is discovered, 146; he is killed; *ibid.*
- Smyrna, city of Æolia, ii. 209.
- Socrates, prince of the philosophers; his birth, iv. 59: he applies himself at first to Yculpture, 59: then to the study of the Sciences, *ibid.*: his wonderful progress in them, *ibid.*: his character, 53: his employments, *ibid.*: sufferings from the ill-temper of his wife, 54: demon, or familiar spirit of Socrates, 55: the Delphic oracle declares him the wisest of mankind, 58: distinguishes himself at the battle of Potidæa, and at that of Delium, iii. 194, 210: his intimacy with Alcibiades, *ibid.*: devotes himself entirely to the instruction of the Athenian youth, iv. 59: attachment of his disciples to him, 61: admirable principles which he gives them upon government, and religion, 63, 64, &c.: he industriously applies himself to discredit the sophists in the opinion of the Athenian youth, 66: what we are to understand by the ironical manner ascribed to him, 67: Socrates is accused of holding bad opinions concerning the gods, and of corrupting the youth of Athens, 68: he defends himself without art or meanness, 72, &c.: condemned to die, 78: he refuses to escape out of prison, 79: passes the last day of his life in discoursing with his friends upon the immortality of the soul, 84: he drinks the Hemlock, 88: punishment of his accusers, 90: honours rendered to his memory by the Athenians, *ibid.*: reflections upon the sentence passed on Socrates by the Athenians, and upon Socrates himself, *ibid.*: analogy between the death of Socrates and that of the governor of Tigranes, ii. 68.
- Sogdiana, province of Upper Asia, i. 24: Alexander makes himself master of it, v. 223: revolt against that prince, 224: great courage of thirty young Sogdian prisoners condemned to die, but pardoned, 229.

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- Sogdianus**, natural son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, kills Xerxes II. and reigns in his stead, iii. 202 : puts Bogorases to death, *ibid.* ; but is dethroned by Ochus, and stifled in ashes, 203.
- Solar year**, at what time it began to be used, i. 174.
- Solon**, one of the seven sages of Greece, is elected archon and legislator by the Athenians, ii. 245 : governments which he institutes at Athens, *ibid.* ; laws which he gives the Athenians, 247 : travels of Solon into Egypt and Lydia, 46, 252 : his conduct at the court of Cræsus, *ibid.* ; conversation of Solon with Thales upon marriage, 244 : at his return to Athens he finds every thing changed, 252 : he endeavours to make Pisistratus abdicate the tyranny in vain, 254 : death of Solon, *ibid.*
- Sophocles**, tragic poet, disputes the prize with Æschylus, and carries it against him, i. 81 : his death, *ibid.* : tragedies of his come down to us, 82 : in what manner he defended himself in a very advanced age against the ingratitude of his children, *ibid.* : character of Sophocles, 84.
- Sosibis**, Ptolemy Philopater's minister, causes Arsinoë the king's sister and wife to be murdered, vii. 269 : he is obliged to quit his employment, *ibid.* : prevents him from aiding Cleomenes, and advises him to seize his person, 275.
- Spain** : description of Spain, i. 247 : mines of gold and silver, 252 : subjected by the Carthaginians, 250 : entirely conquered by the Romans, 332.
- Spendius** causes the mercenaries to revolt against the Carthaginians, i. 300 : he is placed at their head, *ibid.* : puts Gisco to death, 302 : he treats with the Carthaginians, 304 : he is seized and hanged, *ibid.*
- Spithridates**, officer of Artaxerxes, goes over to Agesilaus, and does him great services, iv. 19 : but offended at the severity of Hierippidas, retires to Sardis, *ibid.*
- Stadium**, Greek and Roman furlong, i. 62.
- Stater**, ancient coin : its value, iii. 174.
- Statira**, wife of Artaxerxes Moemon : her revenge for the death of her brother Teriteuchanes, iii. 322 : poisoned by Parisatis, 372.
- Statira**, wife of Darius, prisoner to Alexander, v. 128 : her death, 170.
- Statira**, daughter of Darius, marries Alexander, vi. 262 : she is murdered by the intrigues of Roxana, 330.
- Suffetes**, chief magistrate of the Carthaginians, i. 225.
- Sulpitius (P.)**, Roman prætor, is sent against Philip, vii. 308 : different actions of Sulpitius in Macedonia, 309 : goes as consul into Macedonia, 353 : gains a victory over Philip, 359.
- Sulpitius Gallus**, tribune in the army against Perseus, foretels an eclipse to the troops, vii. 196 : he is commissioned to inspect secretly into the conduct of Eumenes and Antiochus, 231 : but acts very unworthily, *ibid.*
- Sûrena**, general of the Parthians, gains a great victory over Crassus, viii. 18 : Orodes, jealous of his glory, puts him to death, 27 : his praise, *ibid.*
- Surveying** invented by the Egyptians, i. 175.

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Sybaris, city of Great Greece, iii. 157; its luxury and effeminacy, *ibid.*; total ruin, *ibid.*

Sylla serves under Marius in quality of quaestor, i. 417; that general sends him to Boechus to receive Jugurtha from him, *ibid.*; he causes a ring to be made with that action represented on it, which he used ever as his seal, *ibid.*; he re-establishes Ariobarzanes upon the throne of Cappadocia, viii. 91; he is charged with the war against Mithridates, 97; he besieges Athens, *ibid.*; and takes it, 101; he is victorious in three great battles against the general of Mithridates, 105, &c.; he has an interview with that prince and grants him peace, 109; he marches against Fimbria, 110; he goes to Athens, seizes its library, and sends it to Rome, *ibid.*; his death 113.

Syphax, king of Numidia, joins the Romans, i. 377; defeated by Masinissa, *ibid.*; marries Sophonisba, and goes over to the Carthaginians, *ibid.*; taken prisoner by Scipio, 378.

Syracuse, city of Sicily; its foundation, iii. 226; description of that city, 242; history of Syracuse to the reign of Gelon, 144; of Hiero I. 149; of Thrasybulus, 153; siege of Syracuse by the Athenians, 248; the city is reduced to extremities, 251; the arrival of Gylippus changes the face of affairs, 252; the Syracusans make themselves masters of the Athenian army, and put the two generals to death, 278; Dionysius makes himself tyrant of Syracuse, iv. 153; ineffectual attempts of the Syracusans against him, 160, 172; Dionysius the younger succeeds his father, 188; Dion expels him, 206, &c.; horrible ingratitude of the Syracusans to Dion, 207; Dionysius the younger re-ascends the throne, 221; Syracuse implores the aid of the Corinthians, who send them Timoleon, 245; that general reinstates the liberty of the city, 229; Agathocles usurps supreme authority at Syracuse, i. 267; after the death of that tyrant, Syracuse recovers its liberty, viii. 86; it calls in the aid of Pyrrhus against the Carthaginians, i. 276; it chooses Hiero II. king, viii. 45; misdeeds of his reign, 47; Hieronymus succeeds Hiero, 58; troubles at Syracuse after the death of Hieronymus, 62; Syracuse besieged and taken by Marcellus, 69, 76; reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, 86.

Syria in Asia, i. 26; reduced into a Roman province, viii. 147.

Syngambis, mother of Darius, taken prisoner by Alexander after the battle of Issus, v. 126; after the death of Alexander she dies with grief, 300.

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TACHOS ascends the throne of Egypt, iv. 234; he raises troops to defend himself against the king of Persia, *ibid.*; he obtains troops from the Lacedaemonians; who are commanded by Agesilaus, *ibid.* seeing himself abandoned by Agesilaus, he quits Egypt, and retires

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- to the court of Persia, 295; Artaxerxes pardons him, and gives him the command of his troops against the rebels, *ibid.*
- Tarentum, city of Italy: the Tarentines call in Pyrrhus to their aid against the Romans, vi. 128; that prince leaves a garrison in their city, 145.
- Tegæa, city of Arcadia, ii. 208; war between it and Mantinea, *iv.* 276.
- Teriteuchmes, brother of Statira, wife of Artaxerxes, marries Hamestris, daughter of Darius III. *iii.* 321; Tragical history of Teriteuchmes, *ibid.*
- Teuta, after the death of Agron her husband, prince of Illyria, reigns in his stead, vi. 203; her gross insult on the Romans in the person of their ambassadors, 204; she is obliged to demand peace of them, and obtains it, *ibid.*
- Thales of Miletus, philosopher, ii. 244; founder of the Ionic sect, 268.
- Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to visit Alexander, v. 207.
- Thasus, island in Thrace, revolts against the Athenians, *iii.* 97; Cimon reduces it, *ibid.*
- Theatre; description of the theatre of the ancients, i. 95.
- Thebais, part of Egypt, i. 135.
- Thebes, city of Boeotia in Greece; its foundation, i. 254; and first kings, *ibid.*; the Thebans besiege Plataea, *iii.* 164; defeat the Athenians near Delium, 210; they give refuge to the Athenians, who fled after the taking of their city by Lyfander, 328; they enter into a league against the Lacedæmonians, *iv.* 21; their valour at the battle of Cheronæa, 28; they are compelled by the treaty of Amalceides to give the cities of Boeotia their liberty, 236; Thebes falls into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, 238; Pelopidas reinstates its liberty, 244; the Thebans gain a considerable advantage over the Lacedæmonians near Tegyra, 251; they destroy Plataea and Thepiæ, 252; they defeat the Lacedæmonians, and put them to flight at the battle of Leuctra, 257; they ravage Laconia, and advance to the gates of Sparta, 261; they send Pelopidas to the court of Persia to gain its friendship, 265; they make Alexander, tyrant of Phææ, submit, 268.
- The Thebans make a second attempt against Sparta, *iv.* 277; and gain the battle of Mantinea, 280; they aid Artabafus against the king of Persia, 302; call in Philip against the Phocæans, v. 30; the Thebans, Messenians, and Argives, enter into an alliance with Philip to attack Peloponnesus, 41; the Thebans join the Athenians against Philip, 58; defeated near Cheronæa, 59, 60; Philip puts a garrison into their city, 61; and the Thebans, after his death, put part of the garrison to the sword, 90; for which Alexander destroys their city, 91; restored by Cassander, vi. 18; make an alliance with the Romans against Perseus, vii. 135; and surrender themselves to the Romans, 169; Sylla deprives them of half their territory, viii. 107.

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Themistocles, Athenian, distinguishes himself at the battle of Marathon, iii. 372; he removes Epicydes from the command, and causes himself to be elected general in his stead, 20; supports the decree to recall Aristides, 21; resigns the command of the fleet to the Lacedæmonians, determines the Athenians to abandon their city, 33; and the Greeks to fight in the strait of Salamin, 36; the prize of wisdom decreed to him after the victory at Salamin, 42; he re-instates the works of Athens, and fortifies the Piræus, 62, 63; black design which he conceives for supplanting the Lacedæmonians, 66; he is banished Athens, 74; the Athenians and Lacedæmonians uniting against him as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Pausanias, he takes refuge with Admetus, 75: he retires to Artaxerxes, 88; his great credit with that prince, 90, &c.; he kills himself, 92: character of Themistocles, iii. 99, &c.: his great moderation on many occasions, *ibid.*

Theodotus, governor of Bactriana, revolts against Antiochus, and gets himself declared king, vi. 170: he dies, 188.

Theodotus, son of the former, succeeds his father, and makes a league with Arsaces, vi. 186.

Theodotus, Ætolian, governor of Coelestria for Ptolemy, defends it against Antiochus, whom he obliges to retire, vi. 254: he is accused, and obliged to go to the court of Egypt to give an account of his conduct, 261: in resentment for that affront he declares for Antiochus, and puts the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais into his hands, 262: enters the camp of Ptolemy in the night with design to kill him, 264: but fails and escapes to his camp, *ibid.*

Theopompus, king of Sparta, establishes the ephori, ii. 324: commands against the Argives, i. 111: and against the Messenians, 112; he is defeated, and put to death by Aristomenes, 117.

Theramenes, Athenian general, charged with the care of burying the dead after the battle of the Arginusæ, iii. 304: not being able to execute that order, he makes the other generals responsible for it, and accuses them at Athens, 305: he is deputed to Lysander during the siege of Athens, 315: opposes the violence of his colleagues, and draws their hatred upon himself, 326; accused by Critias, and put to death, 327.

Thermo, capital of Ætoña, taken by surprise and ravaged by Philip, vi. 237.

Thermopylæ, pass of mount Ceta, in Thessaly, iii. 24.

Theseus, king of Athens, ii. 215: dies in the island of Scyros, whither he had been obliged to fly, iii. 93: Cimon brings his bones to Athens, *ibid.*

Thespis, Greek poet, considered as the inventor of tragedy, ii. 353.

Thessaly, province of the ancient Greece, ii. 208: the Thessalians submit to Xerxes, iii. 24: they implore the aid of the Thebans against Alexander of Pheræ, iv. 268: Pelopidas delivers them from his power, *ibid.*: they have recourse to Philip against their tyrants, v. 21: that prince delivers them, *ibid.*

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Thirty ; council of thirty established at Lacedæmon, ii. 224 : thirty tyrants established at Athens by Lyfander, iii. 316 ; cruelties which they commit in that city, 326 ; Thraſybulus drives them out of Athens, 329 : they endeavour to re-inſtate themſelves, and are, all put to the ſword, *ibid.*

Thrace, province of Europe, ii. 303.

Thraſybulus, brother of Gelon, reigns at Syracuſe after Hiero's death, iii. 153 : but is dethroned for his cruelty, *ibid.*

Thraſybulus, general of the Athenians, iii. 286 : cauſes Alcibiades to be depoſed, 288 : he quits Athens, to avoid the cruelty of the thirty tyrants, 328 : whom he expels from that city, and re-inſtates its liberty, 329.

Thucydides, Greek hiſtorian, ſent to the aid of Amphipolis, iii. 208 : he is baniſhed for ſuffering that city to be taken, 209.

Thurium, city of Sicily : its foundation, iii. 159.

Tiglath-Pilezer, king of Nineveh, aids Ahaz againſt the kings of Syria and Iſrael, ii. 20.

Tigranes, ſon of Tigranes, king of Armenia, releaſed by the Parthians, and placed upon the throne, vii. 326 : accepts the crown of Syria, 328 ; marries Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates, viii. 93 ; invades the kingdom of Cappadocia, *ibid.* : gives Mithridates refuge, 122 ; the Romans declare war againſt him, 125 ; defeated by Lucullus, 130 : he raiſes new troops in concert with Mithridates, 132 ; is defeated a ſecond time, 134 ; Pompey marches againſt him, and finds him at war with his ſon, 143 ; Tigranes ſubmits his perſon and crown to the diſcretion of Pompey, 156 : who leaves him part of his dominions, 157.

Tigranes, the former's ſon, makes war with his father, viii. 143 : put himſelf under the protection of Pompey, 144 ; but not complying with his decree, he endeavours to fly, 145 : Pompey reſerves him for his triumph, *ibid.*

Timoleon, Corinthian, ſacrifices his brother Timophanes to his country, iv. 223 ; he is ſent to the aid of Syracuſe, *ibid.* ; i. 242 : he eludes the vigilance of the Carthaginians by a wife ſtratagem, iv. 225 ; gains an advantage over the Carthaginians and Icoetes, near the city of Adranon, 226 : he enters Syracuſe, 227 : Dionyſius ſurrenders himſelf to him, *ibid.* ; Timoleon ſends him to Corinth, *ibid.* ; he gains ſeveral victories over the Carthaginians, *ibid.* &c. ; he re-eſta-bliſhes the liberty of Syracuſe, and inſtitutes wiſe laws there, iv. 228 ; he frees the other cities of Sicily from the tyranny, 230 : he gains a great victory over the Carthaginians, 231 ; he is accused and cited to answer, *ibid.* ; he quits his authority, and paſſes the reſt of his life in retirement, 232 : he dies in it, 233 : great honours rendered his memory, *ibid.* : his praiſe, *ibid.*

Timotheus, ſon of Conon, is ſent by the Athenians to aid the Thebans, iv. 250 : he ravages the coaſts of Laconia, and makes himſelf maſter of Cortyra, *ibid.* : he is employed by the Athenians in the war

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against the allies, 302: he is accused by Chares, and dies at Chalcis, 303: his praise, *ibid.*

Timotheus, general of Antiochus Epiphanes, is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, vii. 128: he is defeated a second time by the same captain in the reign of Antiochus Eupator, 271.

Tiribafus, general of Artaxerxes Mnemon, determines that prince not to fly before his brother Cyrus, iii. 341: he commands the fleet of Artaxerxes against Evagoras, and besieges that prince in Salamin, iv. 40: he is falsely accused by Orontes, and carried to the court in chains, 41: trial of Tiribafus, 45: the king discovers his innocence, and restores him to his favour, 47: Tiribafus accompanies Artaxerxes in that prince's expedition against the Caduseans, *ibid.*: his stratagem for making that people return to their obedience to the Persians, 48.

Tissaphernes, Persian of quality, is appointed by Darius to reduce Pisuthnes, governor of Lydia, iii. 205: he effects it, and has the government of Lydia for his reward, *ibid.*: he suffers himself to be seduced by the flattery of Alcibiades, and gives himself up entirely to him, 280: he concludes a treaty with the Peloponnesians, 284: he causes Alcibiades to be seized, and sent prisoner to Sardis, 288: he commands in the army of Artaxerxes Mnemon at the battle of Cunaxa, and distinguishes himself in it, 341, 344: he takes upon him to re-conduct the Greeks into their own country, 352: he seizes Clearchus and the other generals by treachery, and sends them to Artaxerxes, 355: he joins Pharnabazus to oppose the enterprises of Dercyllidas, iv. 5: he sends to command Agesilaus to quit Asia, and to declare war against him in case of refusal, 14: he is defeated near Sardis, 15: he is treacherously accused, 16: Artaxerxes puts him to death, *ibid.*: character of Tissaphernes, *ibid.*

Tunis, in Africa, taken by Regulus, i. 284: the revolted mercenaries make it their place of arms, 299.

Tyre, city of Phœnicia; its foundation, v. 138: Tyre besieged and taken by Nabuchodonosor, ii. 29: Darius reinstates it in its ancient privileges, 308: Tyre besieged and taken by Alexander, v. 136, &c.: then by Antigonus, vi. 35: accomplishment of the different prophecies concerning Tyre, v. 148, &c.

Tyrtaeus, Greek poet, sent by the Athenians to the Lacedæmonians to command them, i. 109: whose courage he revives, and occasions their gaining a great victory over the Messenians, 120: made citizen of Sparta, *ibid.*: character of his poetry, *ibid.*

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VARRO (C. Terentius), defeated by Hannibal at the battle of Cannæ, i. 391.

Uchoreus, king of Egypt, builds Memphis, i. 188.

Vesentius, Roman soldier, rises to the highest dignities by his merit,

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- viii. 30 : he revenges the disgrace of the Romans at the battle of Carræ, and defeats the Parthians upon several occasions, *ibid.*
 Urania, divinity of the Carthaginians, i. 220.
 Utica, city of Africa, joins the revolted mercenaries, i. 303 : reduced to surrender at discretion, 306 : submits to the Romans, 335.
 Uzii, people upon the frontiers of Persia, v. 191.

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- WRESTLING; exercise of wrestling among the ancients, i. 57.

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- XANTHIPPIUS**, Spartan, commander in the *Goodagindas*, i. 285 : he defeats Regulus, 286 : retires, and disappears soon after, 288.
Xanthippus, Athenian, joined in command with Leutychides king of Sparta, defeats the Persians near Mycale, iii. 59.
Xenophon, historian and philosopher : he engages in the service of Cyrus the younger, iii. 338 : he commands the ten thousand after the death of Clearchus, and brings them back into their own country, 358 : he joins the Lacedæmonians in the war with Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, iv. 10 : he acts under Agesilaus at the battle of Coronea, 28.
Xerxes I. son of Darius, is elected king of Persia in preference to his brother Artabanes, in 339 : he confirms the Jews in their privileges, iii. 1 : he reduces Egypt, *ibid.* : he prepares to invade Greece, *ibid.* : he deliberates with his council concerning that expedition, 2 : wife speech of Artabanes to him, 3, 4 : rage of Xerxes upon that occasion, 5 : he discovers his error, and confesses it in full council, *ibid.* : the war is resolved, 8 : Xerxes enters into an alliance with the Carthaginians, *ibid.* : i. 251 : he begins his march, and gives order for cutting a way through mount Athos, iii. 9 : his letter to that mountain upon that subject, *ibid.* : he advances to Sardis, 10 : his cruelty to Pythius, *ibid.* : he marches towards the Hellespont, 12 : he causes the sea to be chastised for having broken the bridge of boats which he had laid over it, 13 : he orders a second to be built, and passes the Hellespont with his army, 15 : numbers of his forces, *ibid.* : Damaratus tells him freely his thoughts of this enterprize, 18 : three hundred Spartans dispute the pass of Thermopylæ with Xerxes, 26 : that prince in his rage causes the dead body of Leonidas to be affixed to a gibbet, 27 : he takes and burns Athens, 35 : he is defeated at Salamin, 39 : he leaves Mardonius in Greece, and returns precipitately into Asia, 40 : violent passion of Xerxes for the wife of his brother Masistus, and afterwards for Artabata, that princess's daughter, 61 : he causes Masistus to be put to death, 63 : he gives himself up to luxury and voluptuousness, 82 : he is killed by Artabanus captain of his guards, 83 : character of Xerxes, 84.

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Xerxes II. son of Astaretres Macesas, king of Persia, iii, 202; assassinated by his brother, Sogdianus, ibid.

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ZALEUCUS, legislator of the Locrians, wisdom of his laws, iii, 161.

Zancle, city of Sicily, iii, 227. See Messina.

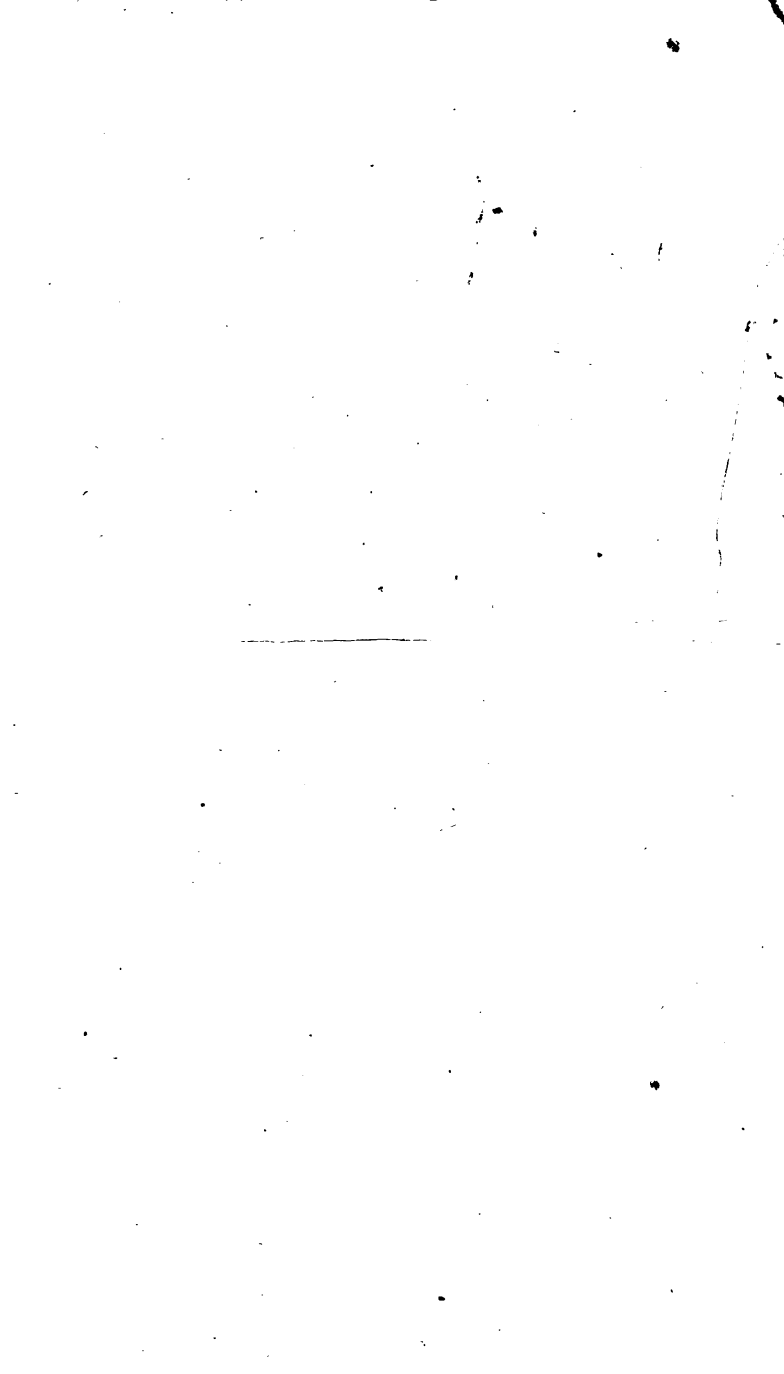
Zereah, king of Ethiopia and Egypt, defeated by Asa king of Judah, i, 200.

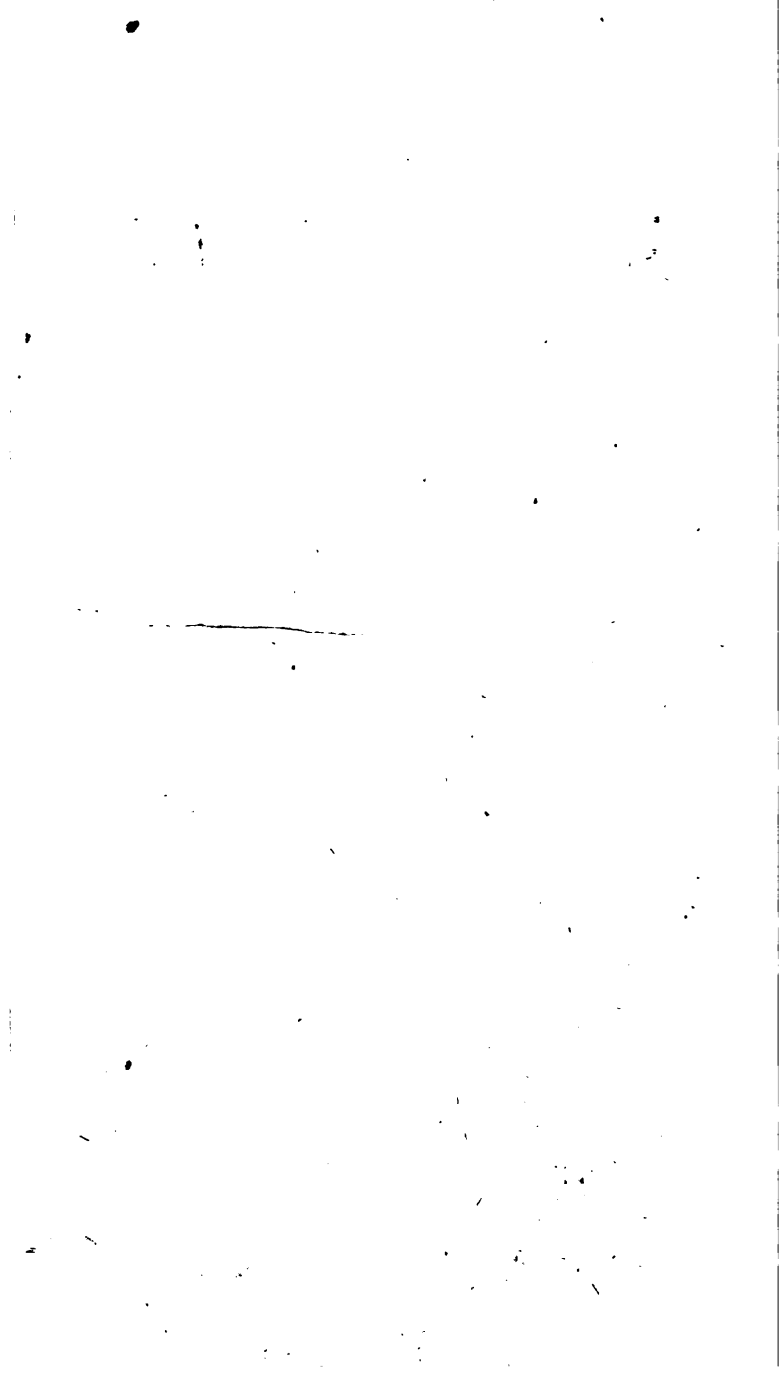
Zopyrus, Persian lord, mutilates himself to regain Babylon for his master, Darius, ii, 289; he makes that prince master of Babylon, 290: his reward for so great a service, ibid.

Zoroaster, founder of the sect of the magi among the Persians, ii, 191.

Zoroaster, another restorer of the same sect, ii, 193.

FINIS.





IX. Month. SEPTEMBER, 30 days. 1814.

Be this my joy, to calm the troubled breast,
Support the weak, and succour the distress'd;
Direct the wand'rer, dry the widow's tear,
The orphan guard, the sinking spirits cheer.
Tho' small my pow'r to act, tho' mean my skill,
Thou seest the heart, thou judgest by the will.

Last Quarter 6th day, 9h. 55m. even. First Quarter 21st day, 7h. 50m. morn
New Moon 13th day, 6h. 37m. even. Full Moon 29th day, 6h. 4m. morn

M.	W.	Courts, Aspects, Weather, &c.	r.	s.	F. sea	D s pl.	r.	O s.
1	5	Severe and	5	29	7	16	head	8 6
2	6	London deft by fire 1666	5	30	7	1 2		8 36
3	7	pleasant	5	31	7	1 47	neck	9 7
4	B	Lord's day. Dog days end	5	32	7	2 35		9 39
5	2	C P & C. S. Machias weather.	5	34	7	3 24	arm	10 15
6	3	C P Barnst. Ver Election	5	35	7	4 17		10 54
7	4	om Prov Bruns & William	5	37	7	5 12	breast	11 40
8	5	7*s sou. 4h. 22m. [College	5	39	7	6 9	morn.	
9	6	Rain and perhaps wind.	5	41	7	7 10	heart	34
10	7	● perigee	5	42	7	8 11		1 35
11	B	Lord's day. High tides	5	43	7	9 10		2 41
12	2	C P Conc. Taunt & Alfred	5	45	7	10 8	belly	3 49
13	3	S J C Lenox Cool mornings	5	46	7	11 3	set	
14	4	Com N Haven and	5	47	7	11 55	teins	7 21
15	5	Scorpion's H. sets 9h.	5	48	7	43		7 52
16	6	evenings	5	50	7	1 31		8 21
17	7	7* fouth 3h 51m	5	51	7	2 18	secret	8 51
18	B	Ld's day Old stile ceas. 1752	5	52	7	3 5		9 21
19	2	C P Ded Len. & Newburyport	5	53	7	3 53	thigh	9 53
20	3	S J C Northamp & Wiscasset	5	55	7	4 41		10 28
21	4	St Matthew Low tide	5	56	7	5 30	knees	11 1
22	5	● Cent ☿ ♄ Good weather	5	58	7	6 18		11 39
23	6	● apog. Autumnal equinox	6	0	6	7 8	morn.	
24	7	8 21 19° for health	6	2	6	7 57	legs	34
25	B	Lord's day and	6	4	6	8 44		1 40
26	2	harvesting.	6	5	6	9 32		2 42
27	3	S J C Worces. C P Boston	6	6	6	10 17	feet	3 47
28	4	Harvard Coll founded 1636	6	7	6	11 5		4 50
29	5	Full tides	6	9	6	11 52	head	rises
30	6	7*s sou. 3h 4m	6	10	6	morn.		7 14

X. Month. OCTOBER, 31 days. 1814.

Still let me shun false pleasure's vain pretence,
Nor lose my soul, to gratify my sense.
To all thy precepts let my life extend,
At once to man, and to myself a friend.
If smooth or thorny, then, the path I tread,
If plenty gives me rest, or labor bread;

Last Quarter 6th day, 6h. 9m. morn. First Quarter 21st day, 3h. 1m. morn.
New Moon 13th day, 6h. 2m. morn. Full Moon 28th day, midnight.

M. | W. | Courts, Aspects, Weather, &c | r ☉ | F. sea | D s pl | r O

1	7	☉ fast of clock 10m. S gns of	6 12 6	40	neck	7 36
2	B	Lord's day. Gov. Adams died	6 13 6	1 31		8 31
3	2	C P. Nantucket a storm	6 14 6	2 23	arms	9 16
4	3	S J C. Augu ta & Barnstable	6 16 6	3 17		9 52
5	4	Low tides	6 17 6	4 14	breast	10 43
6	5		6 19 6	5 15		11 33
7	6	♀ rises 4h. 15m. ☉ per.	6 21 6	6 13	heart	morn.
8	7	Gov Hancock died 1793.	6 23 6	7 12		46
9	B	Lord's day	6 24 6	8 8	belly	1 54
10	2	Agreeable weather	6 26 6	9 2		3 5
11	3	S. J. C. Plym. but cool	6 27 6	9 59	rein	4 13
12	4		6 28 6	10 42		5 20
13	5	☉ 18°	6 30 6	11 30		ets
14	6	7* s south 2h. 13m.	6 31 6	17	secret	6 47
15	7	Full tides [beh. 1793	6 32 6	1 4		7 18
16	B	Lord's day Queen of France	6 33 6	1 53	thighs	7 48
17	2	Burg. fur. 1777 The season	6 35 6	2 40		8 20
18	3	S J. C. Taunt. & Portl. will be	6 37 6	3 29		9 1
19	4	Cornwallis taken 1781. ☉ ap.	6 38 6	4 17	knees	9 45
20	5	unfriendly to none, but to	6 40 6	5 8		10 27
21	6	☉ ☉ ☐ those who make it so.	6 41 6	5 56	leg	11 22
22	7	Low tides	6 42 6	6 44		morn
23	B	Lord's day. ☉ Genl. m. Ameri.	6 43 6	7 31	feet	21
24	2	[ca dis by Columbus 1492	6 44 6	8 18		1 22
25	3	S. J. C. Dedham	6 45 6	9 3		2 25
26	4	☉ fast of clock 16m.	6 46 6	9 50	head	3 31
27	5	A storm about this time	6 47 6	10 37		4 34
28	6	St. Simon & Jude	6 49 6	11 26	neck	ri es
29	7	High tides	6 50 6	morn.		6 41
30	B	Lord's day. President ADAMS	6 51 6	19	arms	7 19
31	2	[born 1735.	6 52 6	1 14		8 21

TABLE OF SIMPLE INTEREST, AT SIX PER CENT.

Principal.	One Week	One Mon.	One Year.	Principal	One Week	One Mon.	One Year.
dls. ct. m.	dls. ct. m.	dls. ct. m.	dls. ct. m.	dls. ct. m.	dls. ct. m.	dls. ct. m.	dls. ct. m.
Cts. 10	0 0	0 0	0 6	Dls. 20	0 2 5	0 10	1 20
20	0 0	0 0	1 2	30	0 3 7	0 15	1 80
30	0 0	0 1	1 8	40	0 5 0	0 20	2 40
40	0 0	0 1	2 4	50	0 6 2	0 25	3 00
50	0 0	0 2	3 0	60	0 7 5	0 30	3 60
60	0 0	0 2	3 6	70	0 8 7	0 35	4 20
70	0 0	0 3	4 2	80	0 10 0	0 40	4 80
80	0 0	0 3	4 8	90	0 11 2	0 45	5 40
90	0 1	0 4	5 4	100	0 12 5	0 50	6 00
Dols. 1	0 1	0 5	6 0	200	0 25 0	1 00	12 00
2	0 1	1 0	12 0	300	0 37 5	1 50	18 00
3	0 2	1 5	18 0	400	0 50 0	2 00	24 00
4	0 4	2 0	24 0	500	0 62 5	2 50	30 00
5	0 5	2 5	30 0	600	0 75 0	3 00	36 00
6	0 6	3 0	36 0	700	0 87 5	3 50	42 00
7	0 7	3 5	42 0	800	1 00 0	4 00	48 00
8	0 9	4 0	48 0	900	1 12 5	4 50	54 00
9	1 0	4 5	54 0	1000	1 25 0	5 00	60 00
10	1 1	5 0	60 0				

N. B. To understand the use of this tabl—against 2 dollars for one week you will find the interest to be 1 mill—for one month, 1 cent—and for one year, 12 cents.

YEARLY AND QUARTERLY MEETINGS OF FRIENDS IN NEW ENGLAND.

Yearly meeting beginning with select do. 7th day after the 2d 6th day, 6th month, 9th h. morn. at Portsmouth, R. I.—Public meeting for worship 1st day following at Newport and Portsmouth, 10th h. morn. and 4th aft. Meeting for business at Newport 2d day following. 9th hour morn.

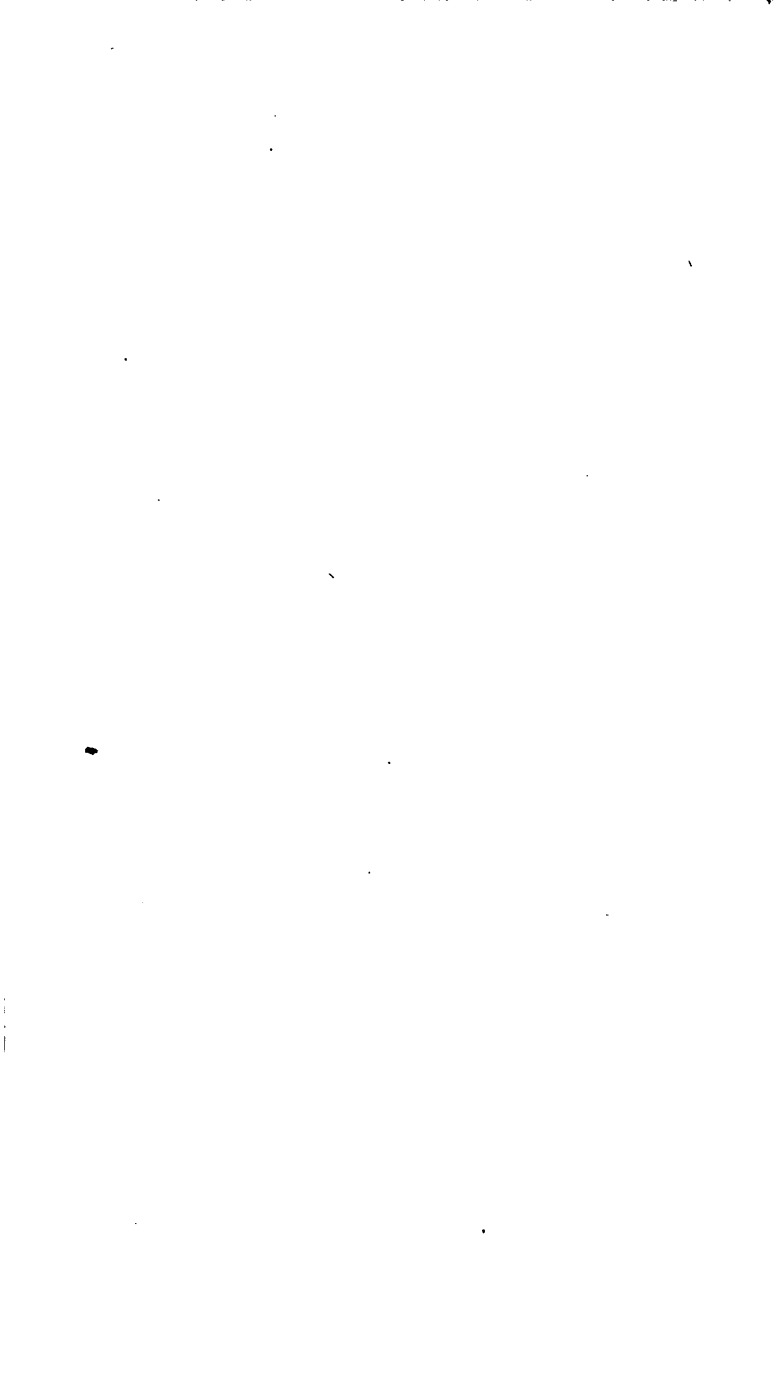
R. Isl. Quarterly.	Somerset, Mass. 1st. 5th d. 11th mo.	Falmouth Quarterly dis. Maine	Windham 5th d. before 1st 6th d. 2d mo.
	Providence, R. I. 1st 5th d. 2d mo.		Vass lboro' 5th d. bef. 1st 6th d. 9th mo.
	E. Greenwich 1st 5th d. 5th mo.		Durham 5th d. bef. 1st 6th d 11th mo.
	Portsmouth 1st 5th d. 8th m.		Falmouth 5th d. before 1st 6th d. 6th mo.
Salem Quarterly.	Dover 4th 5th d. 1st mo.	Smithfield Quarterly	Smithfield 2d 5th d. 2d mo.
	Saybrook 4th 5th d. 4th mo.		Northbridge 2d 5th d. 7th mo.
	Salem 4th 5th d. 8th mo.		Bolton 2d 5th day, 8th mo.
	Weare, (N. H.) 4th 5th d. 10th mo.		Leicester 2d 5th day, 11th mo.
Sandwich Quarterly.	New Bedford 1st 5th d. 4th and 12th mo.		
	Nantucket 1st 5th d. 7th mo.		
	Sandwich 1st 5th d. 10th mo.		

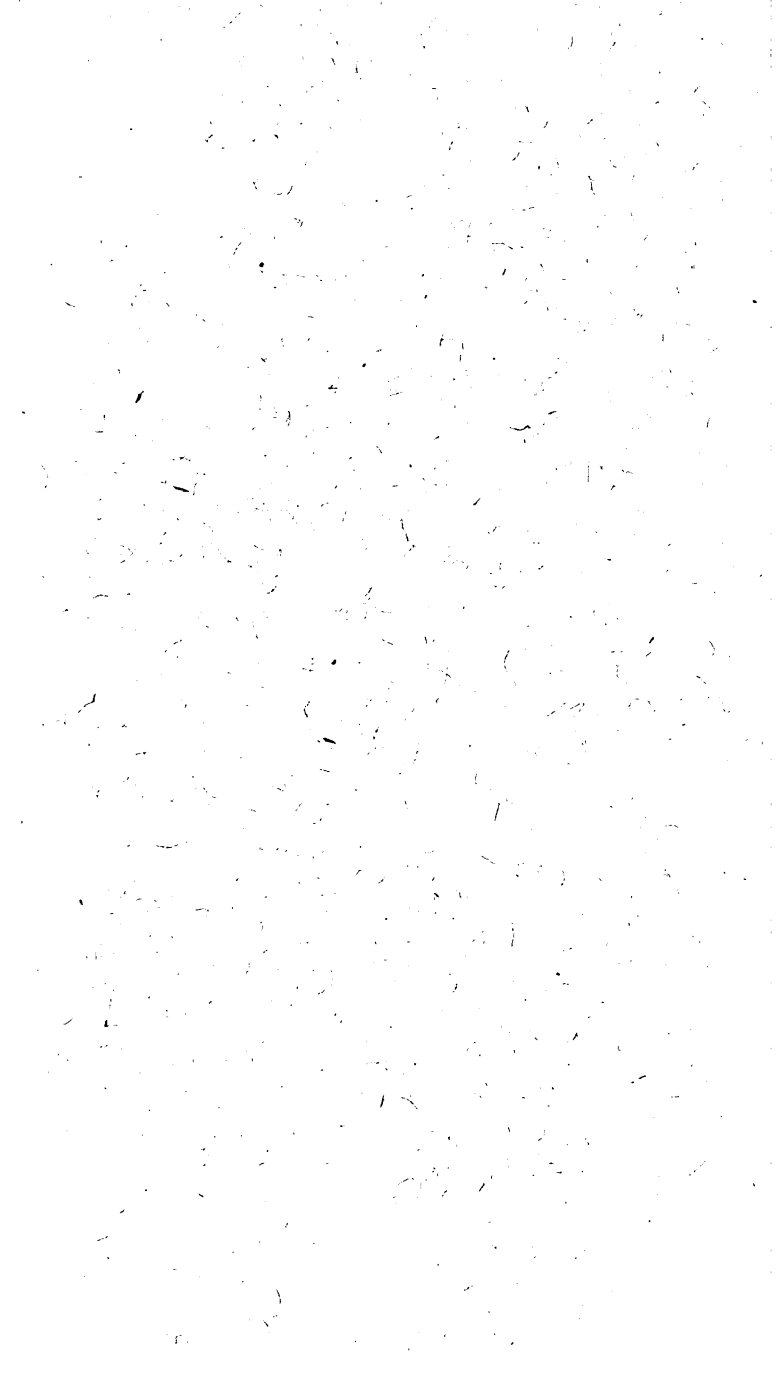
MEDICAL LECTURES.

Cambridge University.—Medical Lectures commence at Boston on the first Wednesday in November annually.—Anatomy and Surgery—by Dr. Warren & Dr. Warren, jr.—Theory and Practice of Physic—by Dr. Jackson.—Chemistry and Materia Medica—by Dr. Dexter and Dr. Gorham.

Hanover University.—Medical Lectures commence on the first Wednesday in October, annually.—Anatomy and Surgery by Dr. Perkins.—Theory and Practice of Physic—Chemistry and Materia Medica—by Dr. Smith.







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